PRIMORDIA:

OR, THE RISE and GROWTH Of the FIRST

Church of God

DESCRIBED.

By *THO. TANNER*, M. A. J. C. and Rector of *Winchfield* in *Hampshire.*

To which are added

Two LETTERS of Mr *RUDYERD*'s, in Answer to two QUESTIONS propounded by the Author: One about *The Multiplying of Mankind until the Flood.* The other concerning *The Multiplying of the Children of* Israel *in* Egypt.

Quod primum verum.

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TO THE

Much Honoured

JAMES RUDYERD,

of *Winchfield*, Esq;

SIR,

Since it hath been a Custome from one Generation to another, for all sorts of Writers to creep into

the Light at firſt with their well-ſet Apologies; it may juſtly ſeem in vain now (when there is nothing left to be ſaid) for me to travel in that kind, wherein the Wits themſelves have been ſtranded (as it were) before: But as for Us, who are Divines by Our Profeſſion, it might poſſibly be better to confeſs ingenuouſly, That it is as much our duty (as occaſion or acceptance may oblige us) to Write as to Preach the truth. Nor can ſuch an exigency be ever wanting, while they that are weary of our Scribbling, will help

help off our Impreſſions: for they ſee ſome reaſon for it. And it is moſt likely to be this, They may perceive that all is not truth that is in Print; but much more that diſguiſed truth is the fitteſt of all to ſerve the turn of errour; which is not of the like conſequence in reference unto all opinions. For how we ſhall be ſaved is another matter than how we ſhall be re-imburſed with a Notion only. We have as frequent need to bring all Metals to the Touchſtone or the Scale, as the Goldſmiths have, and in

certain Points to be scrupulous, even to a Grain, since the Filings of Gold are precious.

Wherefore as for this Essay in particular, which I have desired to present unto the common light through Your hands, I must confess, Sir, *that although I wrote it not on purpose to oblige or disoblige any Party; yet I cannot be unsensible, that as it cometh home to certain Points at which I aimed not at first; so there may be divers that may take themselves to be more concern-*

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ed in it than I was aware: for whose sakes I may be the more sorry, that I have also written in some confusion, rather as Books came to my hand, in this obscurity (as You know best, who have been my chiefest Lender) than as my method lay in the first Scheme, wherein it was designed. And if I beg leave here to give You a further Prospect into that than I have done before, the rest of my Observers may be prepared the better for it.

Since the Prime Antiquity is the only Standard both of

Truth

Truth and Purity, and the Scripture it ſelf (tanquam Index ſui, & obliqui) *the only Rule whereby to prove the Reports of Ancient Writers, which may be many ways ſeduced, or impoſed on by others; I thought by comparing theſe together to ſet forth what I could diſcover of the true Church, from the firſt beginning to the end (at leaſt) of the firſt Century after Our Lord's Nativity; having a due regard both to the outward and inward Conſtitution of it, waving or referring unto others, what I found*

found done to my content before. I weighed with my self the Subterfuges of the Papists, in writh'd or feigu'd Antiquities only; and of divers modern Sects, in the real obscurity of the first Ages, both of the Old and New Testaments: which it may be divers of them would rather wish to be left under a Standing Veil still, than to be discovered by any other Lights than their own. And if I say no more at first, it may be 'tis because I know not how far I may be able to proceed, though I have the whole

whole Subſtance in my rude Draughts already.

I have been informed, that the Great Biſhop Montague *had deſigned to accompliſh a Refutation of* Baronius's *Annals; but he lived to finiſh little elſe (of that Deſign) beyond his* Apparatus. *And that it was among the* Belli Penſieri *of Mr.* Cowley, *to "take a review of "the original Principles of "the Primitive Church. "Which he purpoſed ſhould "reach to Our Saviour's, and "the Apoſtles Lives, and "their*

" *their immediate Succeſſors,*
" *for four or five Centuries,*
" *till Intereſt or Policy pre-*
" *vail'd over true Devotion.*
But alas! for ought appears, theſe dyed with him.

But what ſhall I ſay for my ſelf at laſt, in that I have not only thruſt theſe Papers forth under Your Name in the Front, but alſo fortified my ſelf with the ſame in the Rere, by preſſing one or two unuſual Requeſts from You? For the firſt, ſure it can be thought no other than the leaſt expreſſion of gratitude

(how-

(howsoever rude) that can be made (as the World goes now) to an uncorrupted Patron. And for the second, let them that blame Your condescension, but shew first that they are able to acquit themselves as well, or (at least) to imitate Your Example; and then they shall escape the better in exchange of censures: In the mean while it is no matter who shall tell them, That Learning and Vertue, such as Yours, in an Ancient House, is the Elder Nobility, and like to raise You to more Esteem among

among the better Spirits, and to oblige other kind of thanks than mine, who am,

SIR,

Your most affectionate

and humble Servant,

THO. TANNER.

Winchfield, August the 20th 1682.

PRI-

Dedicatory.

PRIMORDIA:

OR, THE

Rise and Growth

Of the FIRST

CHURCH of GOD.

CHAP. I.

Introduction. Adam *why Created out of Paradise, and after brought in? Our first Parents Created in perfection, yet never offered to couple in their innocency, though they had such a command, with a blessing; and why? Why, also, they coveted Children after their fall? wherein their outward state of misery is pointed out.*

BY what degrees and means the Divine Power and Wisdom would erect a Kingdom to himself, distinct from all the Nations, *which*

Acts 14. 16. *he suffered to walk in their own ways*, is the scope of these reserches: to the end, that we may come to know (at last) what manner of Kingdom that should be, which God would give unto his only Son. Who being to derive his flesh from the first *Adam*, we cannot chuse but begin from the head of all; and observe somewhat concerning his state, that hath either escaped some Writers, or been wisely passed o're by others to evade perplexity.

Gen. 1. 26, 27. & 2. 8. As for *Adam* (then) the School-men have observed, that he was created out of Paradise, and after brought in: from which some of them would inferr, and argue, That he was not created in Grace, but in his pure naturals; and that he was endued with supernatural Gifts, when he came to be instated there. To which some others have fitly applyed this Answer: That if *Adam* had not sinned, the whole Earth would have been a kind of Paradise to the sons of men; but that, that which was set forth for *Adam*, was adorned for him (in a special manner) as the Prince, and head of

Si homo non peccâsset, tota terra velut Paradisus quidam, ab hominibus generatione multiplicandis, incolenda fuit; Ubi ille Paradisus, in quo positus dicitur Adam, esset insignior cæteris, ideoque primo homini attributus, quatenus generis principi. Est. in lib. 2. sent. dist. 25. §. 2.

of all mankind; to be his residence, and mansion (which as it is described, comprised many regions) while his Children, to be born, had all the rest before them.

Whereas, if there be any mystery at all to be observed in it, it may seem to have been this, That God would not leave *Adam*, to abide in the wide world (at large) as his own master, and Lord of all besides, without any homage to be paid to himself, his Maker; and therefore, that he would impale him (without confinement) within a certain glorious place, wherein he would be worshipped, in a more especial manner, by him and his, that were to constitute an holy Church in the state of innocency, if he had held it. Unto which intent, God took *Adam* into a kind of implicit Covenant (but not the same with that, which some do take for the Covenant of Works) with himself, and to the ordinance of the Sabbath, he annexed (as a kind of Sacraments) *the Tree of knowledge* for his caution; and *the Tree of Life* for his comfort, as a pledge of immortal felicity, in case of his obedience. But when *Adam* fell from this, it gave occasion unto God to excommunicate, and *send him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till* Gen. 2. 2, 3, 9. Gen. 2. 17. Gen. 3. 22, 23, 24.

the [common] *ground, from whence he had been taken*, into that consecrated place.

Now, although it be manifest by it self, that our first Parents were created in perfection, inasmuch as *God blessed them* (as soon as he had done) *and said* Gen. 1.28. *unto them, be fruitful, and multiply*; yet, no Christian ever did presume to think* that there was any offer of copulation between them in the Garden: whether, because they had no burning blood in them, but were like to other tame creatures (that retain their native innocence) which have no desire, but at certain seasons, when men observe to joyn them: Or, whether it was so ordered (according to the foreknowledge of God) that no kind of inconvenience might ensue; for, if *Adam* had had but one Son, born in innocency, then all mankind could not have fallen together, in *Adam's* person; but the state of Men might have proved like to that of Angels, whereof some left their first station, while others held it: Or, if *Eve* had but conceived in her integrity, that conception (not having been *shapen*

* *R. Jarchi tamen asserit Adamum, ante prævaricationem, genuisse Cainum, quia præceptum fuerat, crescite, &c. At Doctores Catholici statuunt eos è Paradiso egressos Virgines: præceptum vero expectasse tempus debitum, ut varii Comment. in Gen.*

shapen in iniquity, could scarce have been said to have been born in sin; or to have sinned in its Parents loins: So that it might have been justly questioned, how far such an issue might be lyable to, or exempted from, the consequents of sin, in reference unto punishment? for he saith, *Behold all souls are mine; as the soul of the Father, so also the soul of the Son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die.* Psal. 51. 5. Ezek. 18. 4.

But as soon as they were fallen, and yet (in mercy) respited from sudden death, they began to long for posterity; both to supply their own mortality, and also to obtain the blessed seed, that had been promised to them for their recovery.

In the next place, therefore, we have to contemplate the greatest beauties, and the most accomplisht souls that ever were, (as coming immediately, out of the hands of the πρωτοπλάστου, or first Former of all mankind, in them) thrust forth to dig, or till the ground, that had been newly curs'd with barrenness. But what shall they dig, or cut withal? He that made all living creatures made no tools: Nay he hid the Iron within the earth, so that without Iron it is not easie to come by it: or if

Adam find any in the stony mass, above ground, what should he do with it, if the use of the forge was not known till *Tubal-Cain* was born, above a hundred years after? But it seems that *Tubal* was an improver rather than an inventer: For the Gen. 4. 22. Text says only, that *he was the instructer of every* [*Artificer*] (as if there were Artificers before) *in brass and iron.* It makes no matter, since we find that the *Indians* in *America* had Bows and Arrows, and comely Tents, having only ways to sharpen stones, and fish-bones, without the use of Iron, before they learnt it hence. And we will suppose our father *Adam*, to have been much more handy and ingenious, than those bruitish people; and the better workman needs the fewer tools, and helps: for what could *Eve* do, who must be taken up (for her part) to make some thing or other of skins, or wooll, to be spun, or wove, or patcht, for cloaths and clouts against her lying-in?

Then she could have no other but her Husband instead of Midwife, Nurse, and Tender; and before she could have any child to be officious to her, what a deal must lie upon her hands? And whereas she had this heavy sentence from

from the Lord? *I will greatly multiply thy ſorrow, and thy conception: In ſorrow ſhalt thou bring forth Children: and thy deſire ſhall be to thy Husband* [*for more.*] Judge what ſhe might ſuffer, by bearing and nurſing Children, in her time, if ſhe lived proportionably unto *Adam*, nine hundred and thirty years, and bare (one year with another) but three hundred of them. To which miſery, this was alſo to be added; ſhe muſt needs bear the ſeed of the Serpent as well as her own, and not know which was which, till they ſhould be grown: when ſhe ſhould have more ſorrow with one *Cain*, than in bearing all the reſt. And thus we have ſurveyed ſome part of their outward puniſhment for ſin. Gen. 3. 16.

CHAP. II.

That our first Parents repented, and believed. That in token thereof they sacrificed, and taught their Children so. That Sacrifices were not of the light of Nature, against Pelagius; *but of institution; though not to be proved but by inference, as the Lords Supper it self, and Infant-Baptism, and the Lords Day, and single Marriages.*

NOR can we doubt, but that our first Parents, seeing into what a state they had brought themselves, did earnestly repent, and embrace the promise of the blessed Seed, and understand so much of the meaning of it as was for their use and comfort. Neither could they live without fear thereafter, of sinning (again) by the like disobedience: For by occasion of their sin, they came to see into the horrour of eternal death, which remained as the utmost punishment thereof, and which they could not understand so well before.

Irenæus l. 3. contra Her. cap. 34, &c. Epiphan. Her. 46, 47.

And this truth the Catholick Church hath ever held with so much zeal, that it hath taxed *Tatianus* and the *Encratitæ*, of Heresie,

Hereſie, for holding to the contrary. For (ſay they) if theſe were not ſaved, of whom Chriſt was to be born, *Nihil quicquam eorum maſſæ ſalvabitur*, Nothing of their maſs can ever be ſaved. And if they were to periſh, certainly the whole Church of God was once at a loſs and failure; which, that it might not be, God had no ſooner excommunicated them out of his Temple of Paradiſe, but he took them into the Church of Chriſt, the ſtate of Grace; whereinto he called them by repentance *, and faith in his bleſſed promiſe. He did not leave them ſo ſoon as they had left him, but he brought them about again, by reproving of their ſin, and ſetting a better hope before them than they had deſerved.

* *Deus utrumq; poſtquam peccârunt, non deſeruit, ſed increpando requiſivit, & adpœnitentiam vocavit: & ut eos in majorem ſpem veniæ erigeret, promiſit Semen ex Muliere naſciturum, quo aliquando conterretur Caput Serpentis, qui eos ad tranſgreſſionem Divinæ Legis induxerat.* Eſt. in l. 2. d. 33. §. 10.

And the effects themſelves will ſhew it: For they not only ſubmitted unto their puniſhments with thankfulneſs, in that they were delivered both from ſudden and eternal death; but alſo offered continual Sacrifices and Oblations unto God, both of their Herds and Flocks and Fruits and all their encreaſe or acquiſts, that they had; and ſo they taught

taught their Children all alike, that God might be glorified in all, and their Children become Partakers of the same hope, which themselves, through mercy, had received. Now,

As for Sacrifices, we may well think that it could not lightly enter into their heads to invent them; but if they had, that God himself was unlikely to be so well pleased with their will-worship, as, first, to accept, and after, to make a standing Ordinance of them (with the addition of many more Rites) till the fulness of time should be accomplished: Nor is it easie to discover how this kind of service (which was a Type and a Mystery) came to be first revealed to them.

I cannot pass the Porch of this Argument, but I shall meet *Pelagius* ready to oppose me with the first; For it follows from his opinion, That Sacrifices were but of the light of Nature only, if the Fathers, * from *Adam* to *Moses*, lived by no other light; as from *Moses* to Christ, by the *Law*; and we at last by Grace

* *Pelagius docuit primos post peccatum homines, salvatos fuisse per Legem Naturæ; posteriores per Legem Moſis; postremos vero per Evangelium Christi, quasi sine gratiâ Christi, vel Natura, vel Moſis cuiquam potuerit prodesse ad salutem.* Est. in l. 3. sent. d. 1. §. 3.

(by

(by him also ‖ *perperam intellectam.*)

‖ *Pelagius verò, cùm gratiam Dei omnino negare non posset, docebat eam in libero arbitrio, in Lege data, in exemplo Christi, &c. sitam esse.* Id. in l. 2. sent. d. 26. §. 18. *Naturalis gratia habentur bona gubernationis, &c. ut & dona naturalia scientiæ, & morum: quanquam gratia significavit antiquitus donum aliquod supernaturalis Ordinis, usque dovec Pelagius abusus est hoc nomine, ad significandum solam Naturam gratis creatam.* Alvar. disp. 1. de auxiliis. *Quam gratiam sufficisse ad salutem, secundum Pelagianos, refert etiam* Voss. Hist. Pelag. l. 3. th. 1.

As for the practice it self, there is no doubt: for although we do not read that *Adam* himself did make any Sacrifice or Oblation, yet we find that *in proceſs of time, Cain* (*being a Tiller of the* [newly accurſed] *ground*) *brought of the fruits thereof an Offering unto the Lord. And Abel* (*being a Keeper of the Sheep* amongſt which the immaculate Lamb was) *brought of the firſtlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof.* Which how ſhould they do, but by their Parents directions? That *Abraham* offered the Tenths of his ſpoils unto *Melchiſedeck*; and that *Jacob* vowed *a vow, ſaying, If God will be with me,* &c. *then ſhall the Lord be my God, and of all that thou ſhalt give me, I will ſurely give the tenth unto thee.* If to Sacrifices, what ſhould he add? If to any Prieſthood, after the diſappearing of *Melchiſedeck*, where was the like order? If to any

Gen. 4.

Chap. 14.

Ch. 28. 20

any other pious uses (since the Building of Altars of Earth or loose Stones was of little charge, and Poor he had none) Expositors are troubled to shew them; unless there be some light arising out of
—ver. 22. those words, *And this Stone which I have set for a Pillar, shall be Gods House*; as if he had designed, like *David*, to erect a Temple over his Altar, if it had pleased God to permit him. Only it is manifest that these things were revealed (*ab initio*) from the very first.

Not by the light of Nature: For then, 1. *Adam* in innocency had been bound to sacrifice; 2. Since Christ's death, Sacrifices also would be in force as much as the rest of the Laws of Nature; 3. It seemeth rather abhorrent unto Nature to shed the blood of Beasts in vain; so that many of the Heathen Philosophers have seemed to symbolize with those passages
Psal. 51. 16. of the Psalmist, *Thou desirest not Sacrifice, thou delightest not in Burnt-offerings.*
—50.13. *Will I eat the flesh of Bulls, or drink the blood of Goats?*

Indeed it is a Question among the School-men, whether Christ should have been incarnate, though *Adam* had not sinned; but it was never doubted, whether he should have been crucified without

out it. And that the ſlaying of Beaſts prefigured this, the common conſent of Chriſtians hath made it manifeſt, who ever ſince the death of Chriſt, did not only ceaſe to ſacrifice, but declare all ſacrificing to be a denial of it, and a crucifying of Him afreſh. And the power of God hath ſo wrought, that whereever the Goſpel came, the Heathen Sacrifices alſo decayed by degrees. Nay, that where it came not (to our knowledg) as in *America*, and the utmoſt *Indies*, the ſacrificing of any Beaſts was not found in uſe when later Travellers came amongſt them. But why they were in uſe all the World over, before the coming of Chriſt, no other reaſon can be given than that *Adam* firſt, and after *Noah*, taught their Childrenall alike to offer Sacrifice. But as it went, it gathered manifold corruptions: for whereas *Adam* and *Abel* (as *Selden* and *Bertram* judg *) put a difference betwixt the clean and unclean in their Sacrifices; the Gentiles afterwards offered Swine, and all abomi-

* *Selden de jure naturali, & Gentium juxta diſciplinam Ebræor. l.* 3. *c.* 8. *& quia Noachus munda ab immundis ſegregavit.* Gen. 7. 2. *Item Bertr. de Rep. Ebr. cap.* 2. *Illud non prætereundum, non ſicut ipſa Sacrificia, ita omnia, quæ prophanæ Gentes ad Sacrificia adhibuerant, adſcita fuiſſe in Dei ſacra: nec enim omnia Animantium, nec Rituum ſacrificalium genera eadem in populi Iſraelitici, ac Gentium aliarum, ſacris erant.* Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. 1. cap. 1.

nations,

‖ *Ut notum est de Pœnis, Phœniciibus, Syris. De Gallis etiam Cæsar: pro vitâ hominis nisi vita hominis reddatur, non posse Deorum Immortalium numen placari arbitrantur.* De Bello Gall. lib. 6.

nations, even ‖ Mankind, unto some or other of their Idols; and by erecting Altars for Sacrifice unto other men, they did translate them into the number of their reputed Deities. But so much by occasion of *Pelagius*.

On another hand, who will dare to say, That it was lawful to sacrifice (which was the special Sacrament of the Old Testament, in lieu of which the Papists would set up their Sacrifice of the Altar, *tanquam incrementum* only, as a proper Sacrifice of the like kind) without an institution? Or who can shew the institution before the practice? A Point that is like to move the Kidney in two sorts of men.

The first can never prove, That God did directly institute this Ordinance of sacrificing, the most substantial part of his worship, which, no doubt, from *Adam* unto *Moses* (whatever he added to it) was not without confession and bewailing of sins, so far as the Sacrifices were Sin-offerings, that is, of expiation or atonement; or without prayers, if they were but Peace-offerings, or Sacrifices of propitiation for obtaining of benevolence; nor without certain words of

of Benediction, or Thankſgiving, when they were oblations of inanimate things for the bleſſings that God had beſtowed, or continued to them. How do they then ſtand ſo ſtiffly on it, that nothing is to be admitted in the worſhip and ſervice of God, without a poſitive command, extending to all the material circumſtances, (at the leaſt) when they cannot find ſo much as a ſyllable of the ſubſtance of this firſt Sacrament at all?

In the New Teſtament, we find no inſtitution neither (which will touch them nearer ſtill) of the Lords Supper it ſelf (which all hold for an Ordinance, and a Sacrament, καθ' ὑπεροχήν; and it may be a weak pretence, why they excuſe ſo many from coming to it, and keep ſo many more from it:) For when our Lord gave it to his Diſciples, he only ſhewed them an example, as to ſome part of the manner (not obſervable, or obſerved ſince, in point of conſcience; as to be celebrated at the Paſſover, or in the midſt, or after Supper; or ſitting, kneeling, ſtanding; or with or without any form or gift of Prayer, more than bleſſing or asking of a bleſſing, before the breaking of the bread and pouring out of the wine) but as if he left them at an ingenuous liberty, according

cording to their own good will, or love; he only saith, *As oft as ye do this,* 1 Cor. 11. 25, 26. *do it in remembrance of me:* not so much as directing them how oft to do it.

— v. 23. In the like manner St *Paul, I have received of the Lord* (whether by tradition, or report, or example of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, and the Churches of their first planting, or by special revelation) *that which I also delivered unto you*, setting forth no more but only Christ's own example. Will they therefore wholely deny any institution, by way of implicit precept? or raise example in some one case, or two, as high as a precept; and in many more, of great importance, study to dwindle it to nothing?

As for Baptism, indeed, our Lord speaks positively, and expressly (as if they might inferr, that this ordinance of initiation were only instituted; and not the other, which they account worthily, of greater excellency) *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them*, &c. but say the Anabaptists, baptize only such as ye have taught before, and not Infants, which could not understand you; contrary to the universal practice of the Church, succeeding in the next age from the Apostles, as deriving from the first: Shall we there-

Matt. 28. 19. Mark 16. 15.

therefore ſtand ſtrictly to the inſtitution (as ſome account inſtitution) and deny Baptiſm unto Infants?

No, ſay others, that is utterly unreaſonable. Yet ſome of theſe will ſcarce acknowledge that thoſe expreſs words, *God reſted on the ſeventh day, and therefore bleſſed the ſeventh day, and ſanctified it*, did amount to any inſtitution, as to *Adam* in Paradiſe, or his Children afterwards, affirming that the Patriarchs did not keep it, becauſe they do not read that they did, (as if God were obliged to be as punctual in his Commands and Records as men, if he would be obeyed) but that it was of *Moſes* firſt; not conſidering, or not weighing what St *Paul* ſays, that *the Law* of Moſes *was added only becauſe of tranſgreſſions:* and therefore becauſe in *Egypt* (it is like) this Obſervation had been neglected, God would have the tranſgreſſion of this his original Inſtitution to become Capital for the future. Nor yet, that *Moſes* brought in no new Inſtitutions at all, but of Rites and Circumſtances relating to the *Jewiſh* Church and Commonwealth alone. And although the Sabbath be not of the Law of nature, yet I doubt not * but it obliged all Nations from

Gen. 2. 2, 3. Exod. 20. 11.

Vide etiam plura de hac qu. in Seldino, loco ſupra citato, & cap. 9. ſequente.

Gal. 3.

* *Videſis que fuſius de hâc re diſſeruit Seldn. de jure natur. &c. l. 2. cap. 8. & 9.*

Adam, as the penalty did the *Jews* alone by virtue of the Law of *Moses*.

The same men (that they may preserve the greater veneration to the Customs of the Church) though Christ arose on the first day of the Week, (the
Gen. 1. 31. seventh being the first day to *Adam* also, who was created on the sixth) and sent the Holy Ghost on the same, and the Disciples met on the same to break Bread, (in no common way) and that St *Paul*
1 Cor. 16. 1, 2. saith expressly, *Concerning the collection for the Saints, as I have given order to the Churches of Galatia, so do ye. Upon the first day of the Week let every one contribute, as God hath prospered him*; do notwithstanding hold, that the Lords Day is but of even rank with other Holy days that the Church observes, as if it were of Ecclesiastical Tradition only, and not of Institution; whereas it may be shewn when other Feasts began successively, and demonstrated that the Lords Day began from *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, (fifty days after) and so continued without any interruption hitherto, as hath happened unto all the rest.

But if all this amount not to an institution, in vain do they object against the Anabaptists that which they may so readily

dily retort. For may not they ſay, Why do not you hold the Lords Day to be *jure Divino?* Is it not for the ſame reaſon that we hold Infant-Baptiſm to be nothing ſo?

The like might be ſaid of ſingle Marriage, That it was inſtituted or ordained in Paradiſe as an implicite poſitive Law, diſpenſed with (for a time) by the Law-giver unto the Patriarchs, and Divorces indulged to the *Iſraelites* (till Chriſt came) *for the hardneſs of their hearts.* But when he ſays, *From the beginning it was not ſo*, without more words he revives the Primitive Inſtitution. So that where the Scripture ſpeaks but little, there is much to be underſtood; for *if all ſhould be written at large, the world it ſelf could not contain the Books that ſhould be written.* It remains therefore that we think otherwiſe of Inſtitutions than ſome men do: And, for all theſe two Inſtitutions in Paradiſe, (*viz.* of the Sabbath and of ſingle Marriage) that we do not preſently imagine, * that though *Adam* had not eaten of the forbidden Fruit, he might have fallen ſome other way; but rather that he was under a Sacramental Guard before he made a breach upon Gods injunction.

Gen. 2.23, 24.

Matth. 19. 4,5,6,7,8. Mark 10. 5, 6, 7, 8. Eph. 5.31, 32.

John 21. 25.

* *Cautione adhibitâ contra Socinum, qui cenſit Adamum ante peccâſſe, quàm comederet, tametſi ſola comeſtione à ſtatu excidiſſet.*

CHAP. III.

The ſubtilty of the modern Socinians. *An abſtract of their chief Tenents, and the main deſign to which they are all accommodated, noted. A ground-work laid againſt them in order to prove, That Sacrifices were offered by revelation, and not according to any poſſible invention of man.*

BUT (to reſume our Argument about the original of Sacrifices) the modern *Pelagians* (learning how to ward the Paſſes that preſſed home upon their Founder) eſpied this to be one, That if Sacrifices had been of the light of Nature, it would have been written there indelebly, as with a Sun-beam, at the ſame time that *Adam* received the Image of God; or (if there be any difference) if it were of the Law of Nature, mens
Rom 2.15. *conſciences* could not chuſe but *bear witneſs to it, their thoughts the mean while accuſing or elſe excuſing one another*, according to the performance or omiſſion of their Sacrifices; and this as much before the Fall as after: whereupon they bethought themſelves of ſuch a ſubter-

fuge

fuge as this, *viz.* That Sacrifices were offered unto God of mens own accord, not according to the Laws of Nature properly so called, (which are eternal, immutable, confirmed, and far from being abolished by Christ himself) but according to such institutes thereof as natural reason might excogitate as apt and fit for the conspicuous worship of God. *v. gr.* To offer the best of the Flock [like an Herriot] unto God in acknowledgment of his dominion and power and bounty; but more especially as the Lord of life and death, in token of homage, as other Offerings in token of thanksgiving for their encrease. Which is the most favourable opinion of such as do but *Socinianize*, and so double-refine upon him, who thought he had refined *Pelagius* before. *Neque mirum, inquiunt, si quæ primi illi homines Deo sacra faciebant, ea igne absumenda curarent, utpote quod faciendum erat, ne quod Deo sacratum fuit, ad usus prophanos transferretur, quod aliter accidere potuisset.* For they

Referente Outramo lib. 1. c. 1. §. 6. in hæc verba, *Hi, qui sua sponte primò sacrificium judicant, hanc sacrificandi Ritum ad Naturæ Leges propriè dictas, æternas utique, & immutabiles non referunt; sed ad ejusmodi Instituta, quæ ratio naturalis excogitaverit, tanquam ad conspicuum Dei cultum aptæ satis, & idoneæ, &c.*

Contra sententiam Antiquorum, qui Sacrificia ista ignita, ex jussu, seu inspiratione Numinis, cum cæteris ad cultum necessariis, originem habuisse tradiderunt. Uti probant Alex. Halensis. p. 4. membr. 6. & Scot. in sent. 4. dist. 1. quæst. 7.

say it was no wonder, but most natural that the Ancients should consume by fire that which they had dedicated unto God, lest any remainders of them should hap to be afterwards converted to prophane uses. Which doth not amount to so much as the Heathen did imagine, who thought their Sacrifices to be sanctified by that Celestial Element of fire. Or the *Jewish* Rabbins, (enemies unto Christ, or any mystery relating unto him) for they held, "That Burnt-offerings were to expiate for matters whereupon there was "a penalty; and that the Body of the "Beast that was sacrificed did serve to "expiate, even for the thoughts of the "heart. From which we may collect, That they also thought their Offerings to have been purified by the fire of the Altar.

Dr *Lightfoot's* Temple Service ch. 8. §. 1.

Now I can hardly forbear (at the first entrance) to declare my opinion, That whoever doubteth to deny, that Sacrifices came in ure by the use of natural reason, (or cogitating any acceptable service unto God) or to determine and affirm with us, that they came in by institution only, according to the illumination of the very first Patriarchs, and were not essential to salvation before *Moses*; they can hardly come

come so clearly off from *Pelagianism* or *Socinianism*, as to oppose them *ab imis fundamentis*, but must needs yield *Goliah*'s Sword to gratifie them. Neither yet that they can heartily acknowledge this fundamental Principle, *Unam esse omnium fidem*, that there was but one faith and way of salvation from the beginning, I mean since the Fall, (which I am shortly about more clearly to demonstrate) till the end. I shall therefore immediately betake my self to compare opinions, that *contraria juxta se posita, magis illucescant*, contraries being set one against another, the truth may arise the brighter out of all obscurity, the one setting off the other.

When we meet with any Divine Notions among the Heathen Writers (which are not a few) we may take all the rest, that they had not from the *Phœnicians* (by which name they seem to have known in general the Hebrew people) to have been clearly from the light of Nature, or from some old Traditions, traduced by their Poets, which were their ancientest Philosophers. When there are any Passages quoted out of the *Jewish* Rabbins in favour of any Gloss or Tenent, we are to consider whether that

Author lived before our Saviours birth, or after: If before, how far suspicious of the leven of the Pharisees; if after, how much tainted with the reprobate imaginations of the unbelieving *Jews*, (which yet some do swallow as a Loche;) or, in fine, how far free from contradiction, (those blinded people, out of hatred to Christianity, having many ways belied one another, in delivering of their pretended Rites and Traditions.) In Christian Controversies, where the Authority of Fathers and Councils is quoted, the times, circumstances, occasions, interests and powers, are either to be added or substracted, as Grains are in the weight of Gold. But the present scope and design of Parties may seem to give us the best light (if we can discover it) into modern opinions, what to judge of them. I will therefore here endeavour to detect that of the *Socinians*, (as far as I am able) because it stands in my way now, and is like to stand in my light hereafter, (as I proceed) if I do not utterly remove it.

The design of *Socinianism* is not to destroy all Religion, without which they could not make a Sect; nor yet to deny the Gospel in expres terms, (lest they be

be questioned of *Judaism* or *Mahumetism*, which would work nothing else to their purpose besides a prejudice) but by consequence only. Yet because they draw as near to the Borders of Atheism as those of *Poland* do to the *Grand Seignior's*, they have a mighty force (as it were) of *Cossacks*, that pretend indeed as if they were of that Sect, but really hang betwixt that and utter Atheism. Their main foundation is, That men might and may be saved by the light of Nature in things Divine and moral.

To second which *Hypothesis*, amongst others, these are some of the chief, First, That men argue so from Scripture, as if they did (in effect) but adhere to their own opinions, according to their light of reason, or capacity of reasoning; taking only the Subject of it to furnish their apprehensions with some more probable matter of believing, and generally seem to adhere unto that common reason, whereof they accuse *Socinians* only. Secondly, That there is not naturally a sense of the Being and Providence of God in men, but that it is a matter of Faith only to *believe that God is*. Thirdly, That natural Religion is only moral, and that he which is just shall be saved, though

E praelectionibus Theolog. F. Socini Senensis, sparsim.

Heb. 11.6.

though he believe not whether there be a God or no; and to believe more, they are only bound to whom more hath been revealed. Fourthly, That there was no such thing as original righteousness in *Adam* (but only innocency) before the Fall; nor as original sin, ensuing thereupon, or any imputation of his sin at all to his Posterity: (For he holds that *Adam* was mortal in Paradise, though he might have been continued in life, or have been translated if he had not sinned that sin (though he did others in inordinate affections, at the least, before) and that his Posterity was little the worse for it, although somewhat.) Fifthly, That Christ (though a more Divine Person than any other) neither justly could, nor did satisfie for sin; so that his righteousness can be any way said to be imputed: but that men are justified by simple condonation only. Sixthly, That he was given to us, chiefly as an example, to shew us that way to Heaven, which else it would have been hard for us to find. Seventhly, That as *Adam* had free-will before he fell, so all his Posterity hath still; since there is no cause why he should be deprived of it by his Fall, nor the nature of the thing it self, nor of Divine

Divine Juſtice ſo admitting. Eighthly, That by the right uſe of this, a man may obey the Divine Law. Ninthly, That Predeſtination unto life is of ſuch as ſhall do ſo, according to the foreknowledge of God. Tenthly, That ſuch foreknowledge relieth on no Decree, but is like to the foreſight only of a prudent man, including no contingences.

Cui enim uſui, obſecro, iſta prænotio eſſet? Annon ſatis eſt, Deum cuncta regere perpetuo, ac gubernare, nec ipſo planè nolente quidquam ſibi poſſe? Sed cum ubique ſemper, ita ſcientiâ, ac potentiâ ſuâ præſto eſſe, ut omnes hominis conatus & perſpicere, & ſi ſibi viſum fuerit, impedire poſſit, infinitaque ſua ſapientiâ (quicquid homo moliatur, aut moliri queat) omnia ad ſui gloriam convertere; & quâ ratione, prout hominis conatus fuerit, ſibi æquum ſit, jam antea, ſi ita placet, conſtituiſſe? cap. 9.

Now according unto theſe Principles, if Chriſt himſelf was not made a Sacrifice for ſin, (nor needed) but only ſuffered martyrdom, as the Prophets before, to inſtruct us in the way of patience, meekneſs, or the like (as *Socinus* teacheth more expreſly afterwards) what ſhould they do but talk contemptuouſly of Sacrifices from the firſt to the laſt, as indeed they do? For what ſay others of his Followers? When we urge them thus, Would ſuch a righteous man as *Abel* imbrue his hands in the bloud of a Beaſt, and burn it, as an Offering acceptable unto God, if it had been no way revealed

Cap. 10. *reſpondendo ad* 1 Pet. 1. 20.

revealed to him, that with such Sacrifices God was well pleased? *Nobis, inquiunt, quibus alii mores, aliæ Religiones inveterârunt, non est temere judicandum, tanto temporis intervallo, quid alteri in mentem venire posset, præsertim eorum, quæ non sunt contra Naturæ Leges, qualia utique erant Sacrificia; ut quæ Deus, qui nihil unquam contra Naturæ Leges jussit, populo Hebræo imperabat.* To us, say they, who are inured unto other manners, and religious Rites, it is in vain to judge rashly, after so long a time, what might come into the mind of another man, especially about such things which are not contrary to the Laws of Nature, as Sacrifices were not, since God commanded them unto the Hebrew people. *Agedùm, igitur, jam cominùs agamus.*

Outram. ubi supra.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That the Arguments of Socinians *are taken from two of the weakeſt Topicks. A diſtinction offered to detect the firſt fallacy, betwixt a Law imperative and indicative. That Sacrifices were of the latter ſort, proved,* firſt, *Becauſe in all Ages God preſcribed his own worſhip, and accepted no other.* Secondly, *Becauſe illumination (in this caſe) preceded Sacrifice, ſhewed,* 1. *By the manner of acceptation of* Cain's *Offering.*

I Would fain come indeed to handy-blows with my Adverſary, but that I cannot but remember that the *Romans* themſelves could ſcarce at laſt get any advantage againſt *Hannibal* in that way, becauſe he fought more by ſubtilty and ſleight. Nor is there any great force in a Serpent, when he is diſplayed, *Ita ſcilicet Socini Diſcipuli, quoties urgentur ſacris literis, vel ad verborum ambiguitatem, vel ad ſenſus quoſdam tralatitios, tanquam in Caſtra ſe recipiunt*, as my Authour ſpeaks. When the *Socinians* are urged with the Scriptures, they betake themſelves to ambiguity of words, or to certain

Outram. in Præf. libri de Sacrificiis.

tain wreſted expoſitions, as it were into their Holds. You may partly gueſs (from the beginning) what art they need to fend and prove, when you ſhall have once obſerved, that all their Arguments ariſe from two of the weakeſt Topicks, *viz. A negativo ad poſitivum generale*; from a negative to a poſitive Concluſion general, that becauſe no Law is expreſly recorded, therefore there was none. 2. *A poſſibili ad neceſſarium*, that becauſe it was not impoſſible, but that by the light of Nature (reaſoning and excogitating) the Offering of Sacrifice might come into their minds, that therefore it muſt needs be ſo, and no otherwiſe.

Temere ab iis factum judicant, qui Lege aliquâ à Deo latâ, cujus neque Moſis, neque alius quiſquam Scriptorum veterum uſquam meminit, primò ſacrificatum ſtatuant. To the firſt Argument therefore, That becauſe there is no Law commanding Sacrifices expreſly recorded, there was no ſuch. Or, (as my Author amplifies it, according unto their ſenſe, and not his own) That it is incredible that God ſhould have ordained ſuch a Law unto poſterity, and that *Moſes* and all other ſacred Writers ſhould pretermit it as a thing of no moment, and that it is a raſh thing to introduce imaginary Laws. It is to be anſwer-

Prorſus enim incredibile eſſe, omnes planè Scriptores ſacros ejuſmodi ſi qua eſſet, Legem quæ primis omnium hominum parentibus eorumque poſteris à Deo ipſo lata fuerit; quaſi nullius momenti rem, tacitè præterire voluiſſe. ubi ſupr. l. 1. c. 1.

ed,

ed, That it is *fallacia in homonymia*, and may be ſolved eaſily by diſtinguiſhing betwixt Laws imperative and indicative: for as it is a raſhneſs to introduce the former, without ſhewing of the expreſs Precept; ſo it is a like raſhneſs to deny the other (by way of true conſtruction) as made more in favour than the other; and implying the ſame authority and hazard, in caſe of violation, as the other. Wherefore under the name of a Law we muſt know that a Rule, direction, intimation, or any ſignification whatſoever, from a Sovereign power, obtains the name of a Law indifferently, to all his loyal Subjects, without any Act or Edict whatſoever. For who will dare to diſobey the nod of a Prince (if he may underſtand it right) without the pain of diſpleaſure, or other penalties? Who will venture to keep his place, if a General point with his Staff or Finger, directing any motion? And that this Law of Sacrifices was of this latter ſort, I am ready now not only to prove, but to demonſtrate unto any clear and unprejudiced man, by theſe two irrefragable Arguments; 1. Becauſe, though God in all Ages left to humane prudence the ordering of ſuch things as were agreeable only

only unto humane order, yet he never suffered it (so depraved especially as it is since the Fall) to excogitate any way of worship whatsoever; much less an intire way to please him, such as Sacrifice, with all its appurtenances, ever was. Which if I take for the assumption of my Argument, I believe it will not be denied in its kind. *Ergo*, The Offering of Sacrifices could not be of any mens excogitation.

The *major* likewise will hold its own, unless an instance can be given in any other thing besides Sacrifice it self, which I believe cannot be done. And if they still insist no less on that than before, we say, It is very strange that so important a thing as Sacrifice (about which, God afterwards establishing but a better order, destroyed *Nadab and Abihu for offering strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not*) should be the sole exception. Lev. 10. 1.

But if it be said further, Why might not God (accepting of Sacrifices, which men had offered of their own accord) after make an Ordinance of them, as Christ himself did of Baptism, in use among the *Jews* before? Or of the Bread and Wine that was used at the Passover, to frame his own Supper by it, according

to

to their use? I answer, That for Baptism, if it had been grounded in Pharisaical washings, it would have availed the Objectors somewhat; but that which was grounded on the Law, and warranted by it before, might well be taken out, and varied by the Giver of the Law. And so for the Lords Supper; when he abolished the Passover, he took Bread and Wine out of it, as he had taken a Rib out of *Adam*, and made another Creature. There is not the least of humane invention therefore left in either of these, having both their first Originals from God, before men were conversant about them. In fine, if it be urged, That if Sacrifices were by no Law, it remains that they must needs have their Original from the apprehensions of men, bethinking themselves what service was proper for them to offer unto their Maker, Lord of life and death and all; and that none appeared like to Sacrifices of living Creatures, and Oblation of other precious things: they shall then make way for my second Argument, *viz.* That,

Secondly, Because illumination came between, therefore Sacrifices must needs be from God, and not of man. In

which I ſhall be put to prove, *firſt*, That illumination came in, and, *ſecondly*, that it amounted to a Law; and then I ſhall be rid of this too.

Now in the touching upon this Point, methinks I cannot but foreſee that my Adverſaries are ready to compound with me by ſome conceſſion, *viz.* That God is not deficient to them that uſe their right reaſon, to illuminate them ſome way; yet as by the uſe of their own natural reaſon, and not by ungrounded infuſions, or outward revelations, any more than he did in the Caſe of *Bezaleel*, (whom *he filled with the Spirit of God, in wiſdom, and in underſtanding, and in knowledge*, to fit all things for the Tabernacle) and yet he wrought as an Artiſt ſtill. But I am not ſo much afraid of my Argument, as to admit of any compoſition with them. I grant to them likewiſe that *Bezaleel* was enabled and over-ruled (ſo as they ſay) to workmanſhip only; but I ſay, That neither he nor any other did ever begin or continue any true way of worſhip, without a previous revelation, in an extraordinary manner, from God.

Exod. 31. 3. 5.

It cannot be denied (in the firſt place) but, That if illumination may be a *medium*

dium betwixt an imperative Law, and the use of reason, that then there may be (what we call) an indicative Law, betwixt these extremes, amounting in effect unto some express or positive Command. Let us therefore begin with this, and shew, *first*, That there was such a thing; *secondly*, That it amounted to as high a Law to the *First Adam* to sacrifice, as this word did after the *Second Adam* had spoken it, *As oft as you do this, do it in remembrance of me.*

First, The first appeareth, *viz.* That there was illumination before Sacrifice, these two ways:

1. In that *Cain*'s Sacrifice was not forbidden, when it did not please God for the manner of the Offering; for the Text saith, that after, God had respect to the Offering of *Abel*, and not of *Cain*; Gen. 4. so that *his countenance fell.* God was so far from excusing his obedience, that he rather put him in mind to amend it than to refrain, *If thou do well*, saith he, *shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou dost not well, sin lyeth at the door*; (and *Cain* knew what that was by his Father *Adam*'s punishment for sin) but if thou do well, *unto thee shall be Abel's desire, and thou shalt rule over him.* Judge you

therefore, whether *Cain* or *Abel* first invented sacrificing. If it had been wicked *Cain*, would God have spoken so indifferently to him? If it had been righteous *Abel*, the younger Brother, whom *Cain* hated, would not *Cain* have disdained to take example from him? But unto such straits are these reduced, who because they do not read that *Adam* sacrificed, would take it for granted that he did not at all; and so that *Adam* lived without any Form of Religion, (it may be a hundred years or more) till his Sons invented one. Let us hear one of their Quotations to prove it, from a Jewish Rabbin, which they take to be pat unto their purpose. "*Cain* and *A-*"*bel*, saith he, were very wise men; [whereas the Scripture noteth the wickedness and folly of the first, and the righteous simplicity only of the latter] "and it came to pass when they came to "the end of their labours, they either of "them offered a Present unto God, out "of their encrease [as *viz. Cain* when his Fruits were ripe, and *Abel* when his Ewes had yeaned, once or twice a year] "and the reason of such Oblations, as it "seemeth to me (saith the Rabbin) was "this, Because they knew that all things "were

R. Levi Ben Gerson ad Gen. cap. 4. in hæc verba, קין והבל &c. *i. e. Cainus & Abel viri valdè sapientes erant: atque ita factum, utcum ad laborum suorum finem pervenissent, uterque ex facultatibus suis munus Deo offerret, &c.*

" were created and governed by God, " as the true cauſe of all. But *Abrabenel* " thinks that *Adam* alſo ſacrificed as well " as his Sons; both forgetting that God did afterwards require daily Sacrifices, and that not only as Preſents, but as matter of atonement and expiation for ſin: as he had expreſly told their Forefathers, *The life of the fleſh is in the bloud, and I have given it to you upon the Altar, to make an atonement for your ſouls; for it is the bloud that maketh an atonement for the ſoul.* However the modern Rabbins would blanch the matter, to make their own way more plauſible unto the (גויים) Gentiles, or out of hatred to Chriſtianity; becauſe we ſay, and prove, That their bloud-ſhedding of old, was a Type of the bloud of our Chriſt, to be ſhed, once for all, in the latter days. Lev. 17. 11.

But indeed the Sentiments of ſuch Reprobate Jews are moſt agreeable to *Socinus*'s Diſciples, who hold, That Chriſt was no Sacrifice, nor made any atonement for ſin, nor was abſolutely decreed to be crucified at all (notwithſtanding that expreſs place, *Who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world; but was manifeſt in theſe laſt* Socinus *ubi ſupra, reſpondendo ad* 1 Pet. 1.20.

times for you) but foreseen only; or, if decreed at all, conditionally, that if men did sin, then Christ should be given to be slain. For why? To make one sin more than was before, but not one less!

CHAP. V.

The 2. way laid down to shew an indicative Command, viz. Abel's *Offering by a twofold Faith,* First, *Of the Object,* viz. *his Duty to sacrifice, which faith he had in common with* Cain. Secondly, *Of the promise, which was fiducial, wherein his Sacrifice excelled, as being offered with bloud* (*which* Cain's *was not*) *and with respect to Christ. The* Socinian *varnish washed off. The second Head proved,* viz. *That Sacrifices were by a certain Law* ab origine, *because a certain penalty accrued to the omission of them before the Law of* Moses.

2. BUT for that which we are to alledge, as the second way whereby it may appear, That there was some indicative or implicite precept, involved in some gracious revelation from Christ himself, (as the eternal Word of God) previous

previous unto these Sacrifices, the Adversaries have been made sensible, and are well aware of it: I mean the Sacrifice of *Abel*, more accepted than his Brothers. Which having been said by St *Paul* (or the Author to the Hebrews) to have been *offered unto God by faith, as a more excellent Sacrifice than Cain's; by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts; and by it, he being dead yet speaketh:* we may clearly conclude, That he sacrificed in a right obedience to some gracious intimation of the good pleasure of God, which was instead of an imperative Command, if there were none (though we conceive there might be, though it be not mentioned) before. On that therefore we will not insist, because it is not to be proved; but on the intimation, or indicative Command, we will proceed and answer their dilutions. Heb. 11. 4.

Let it be observed that *Socinus* doth not call in Question the Authority of this Epistle (whatsoever the *Arrians* did, whose Heresie he absorbs, together with the *Pelagian*) since he quotes it to prove (as I noted before) that the knowledge of God is not by Nature, but by Faith; for *without faith* (saith the Author) *it*

Ut nequa Crellius, qui in hanc Epistolam variè Commentatus aut commentus est.

is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. And he also saith, that *by faith Abel offered unto God.* Is not this *argumentum ad hominem*, if after this he affirm (as his Followers do) that Sacrifices were of humane excogitation only? For cannot God be known but by faith? And can *Abel* offer by faith, and yet according unto humane excogitation only (reasoning in it self what was fittest to be done, and so doing) which in *Socinus*'s sense is taken to be an exclusion of faith, and directly contrary to it?

And if *Abel* had offered without faith, the Apostle testifies that he could not have pleased God; but in that he did please him, with a witness he shews, that it was by such a faith as *Cain* had not, though he could not have offered without revelation neither. Now when the Apostle says, that *without faith it is impossible to please God*, we will take *Socinus*'s Grant for a ground, *viz.* That the true object of Faith is some kind of supernatural revelation, and not any thing that is excogitated by a rational man; so that if *Abel* had offered without

out such a revelation, he had sinned; nay, if he had but done such a thing in doubt, whether he had warrant for it, or no; those other words of the Apostle might have been fit to be applyed, *He that doubteth is damned* in the case: *for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* Wherefore *Cain* sinned not in sacrificing, according to the revelation of God to his Father *Adam*; for he sacrificed with faith, or belief of the Duty to be done, and he obeyed the outward part, as many men do at this day (who have not the faith of *Abel*, or of right Believers) but he sinned in his hypocrisie, having malice in his heart, and no love to God, nor respect unto his promise. And this you may take for a good reason why his Sacrifice could not be so acceptable as his Brothers. For it is manifest by the Text, that he *offered* only *of the fruit of the ground an Offering unto the Lord*; whether it were a viler or a fairer Offering, it makes no matter (let the Rabbins * argue that) but *Abel brought of the firstlings*, or first-

Rom. 14. 23.

Gen. 4. 3. 4.

* *In oblationibus spontaneis, holocaustis item spontaneis, & votis (pro vario personarum, ac rerum discrimine) præter preces, gratiarum actiones, benedictiones, constitisse cultum illum Divinum, ad quem genus humanum obligatum esse voluêre Ebræi, idque ex jure naturali. —In holocaustis autem cruentis, seu animalium sacrificiis, igne omninò consumendis, parte nullâ pollutâ, seu comesâ... atque*

que tunc temporis (ſc. ante Noachum) ſacrificia illa ignita ex juſſu, ſeu inſpiratione Numinis, originem habuerunt... Et totum animal pro victima oblatum, excoriatum tamen pro more, & diſſectum, [Tamen quære num Abrahamus ita fecerit, cùm aritem pro Iſaaco immolaret] concremandum erat, in gratiarum actionem, favoris conciliationem, peccatorum expiationem, velut per ſymbolum... Unde Abel primogenita Ovium, eaque optima in holocauſtum immolavit, Numinique ſic placuit: Cainus verò tantum abfuit ab hoc tam eximio Numinis hominibus indultu agnoſcendo, ut nondum admitteret animantium immolationem; ac ſi habuiſſet eædem licitam magis fuiſſe, ac homicidium; parilem enim (ut Ebræi referunt) hominibus cenſuit, ac animantibus cæteris fuiſſe exitum. Atque inde cùm res viliores, ſeu fruges terræ obtulit, eo demùm nomine Deo diſplicuit. Ut Seldenus, ubi ſupra, ex Rabbinis.

born) *of his flock, and of the fat thereof, and the Lord had reſpect unto Abel and his Offering*; but not to *Cain*'s. Why, wherein was the difference? *Abel* offered with bloud-ſhedding, but *Cain* a dry Heb. 9. 22. Offering, *And without ſhedding of bloud there is no remiſſion.* *Abel*'s Offering was like the humble ſupplication of the Publican, a Sinner; *Cain*'s like the *Phariſees*, who offered praiſes more than prayers, as if he had no need of mercy. *Abel* had reſpect to Chriſt; for ſo he is reckoned Heb. 11. 39. in the Catalogue among the reſt, *And all theſe having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promiſe*, but eyed and expected it. But ſince *Cain* was fallen into the temptation of the firſt Tempter, the Serpent, he could have but little comfort in looking forward towards this (which made againſt him) *viz.* That *the*

the ſeed of the woman ſhould break the Serpents head.

And is this the reaſon why *Sociniani-zers* would be content to take that blind Gloſs of the *Hebrews*, for ſenſe enough to be made of thoſe words, *viz.* That they import no more but that men ſhould hate Serpents, and Serpents men; and that they ſhould lye in wait for one another? Or to hold, That there was no ſuch thing as a Sin-Offering (but only Peace-Offerings at the moſt, or Oblations of Gifts and Preſents, without a Type) before *Moſes?* Or, That men were never at all juſtified by their Offering of Sacrifice in Faith? But let us hear what they ſay now to this inſtance of *Cain* and *Abel?* They ſay, That this place, wherein the faith of *Abel* is commended, is ſo far from proving that it did rely on any explicated Command of God, that the contrary may be rather proved from it. For if *Abel* ſacrificed in obedience to ſome Law of God, what ſhall we judge of *Cain?* For if he ſacrificed on the ſame account that *Abel* did, he had the ſame Faith that *Abel* had, which is quite contrary to the Apoſtle. The Anſwer riſeth of its own accord from what hath been ſaid before, That

Tantum abeſſe judicant, ut hîc laudata Abelis fides explicato ullo Dei juſſu niteretur, ut hoc ex loco contrarium potius effici poſſe arbitrentur, &c. Ap. Outr. l. 1. c. 1. §. 4.

That (*ſecundùm fidem credendam*) he offered with the ſame faith that *Abel* did, but (*ſecundùm fidem quâ creditur, ſeu quâ debuit credere*) he offered without any ſuch faith at all, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of in that Chapter. Thus a multitude partake of the Lords Supper, believing it to be his body and bloud; but a few receive in faith: yet all are bound to come that profeſs any hope in Chriſt, or any intereſt in him. And if we ſay, That *Cain* ſacrificed according to the faith of his Father *Adam*, more properly than his own; it may well be ſaid further, Whether there was an explicite Command or not, yet he had an implicite Faith at leaſt, to believe as the Church believeth.

2. Now that theſe revelations amounted to no leſs than a poſitive or imperative Law, remaineth to be ſhewed next, by this, (as invincible an Argument as a-
Rom.4.15. ny other) *Where there is no Law, there is no tranſgreſſion*; and where there is no tranſgreſſion, there is no legal penalty; but where there may be manifeſt tranſgreſſion and juſt puniſhment, there an undoubted Law muſt be preſumed, or the Government call'd in queſtion about the equity of the matter. The Law of

Moſes

Moſes was not given till they came into the Wilderneſs; but in order to their marching thitherwards, God commanded *Moſes* to ſpeak thus unto *Pharaoh*, *The Lord God of the Hebrews hath met with us; let us go, we pray thee, three days journey into the deſart, and ſacrifice unto the Lord our God, leſt he fall upon us with peſtilence or the ſword.* *Ergo*, This Law was *ab origine* to the people of God, *viz.* That they ſhould offer Sacrifice unto him, for their own good, or at their peril. The Lord Chriſt, when he inſtituted his Communion (as I noted before) only gently ſaid, *As oft as you do this*, &c. And it hath been let paſs for an Ordinance of his: and there is no penalty upon the omiſſion of that, though the Apoſtle lets them know that for the ſake of eating and drinking unworthily, *many were weak and ſick amongſt them, and many ſlept.* But in this Caſe omiſſion only is to be puniſhed with extreme mortality.

Exod. 5. 3.

1 Cor. 11. 30.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Socinus's second Topick propounded to be examined, viz. Whether, because men might possibly invent Sacrifices, as not against the Law of Nature, it must needs follow that they had their rise from thence. A contrary way of arguing propounded, by way of demonstration, and the subtilty of his way noted. That there were divers other Laws before Moses, *in force; shewed also that he did not record the Laws, but the practice only.*

AND now, that I may bring *Socinus* (or his Adherents) off with the more advantage or disadvantage, which may happen, since we have contrary designs; *they* to admit as little need of Christ, and so, to do as little honour to him, as needs must; and *we* do him all the Right that the Scriptures or the Catholick Church hath ever done: I come to his second Topick, *A possibili ad necessarium*, that because it was possible (or not impossible, but) that by the light of Nature (reasoning and excogitating what was fit to be done in honour to

to the great Creator, to ſet up ſome conſpicuous ſervice to be performed to him) the Offering of Sacrifices might come into their minds, that therefore it muſt needs be ſo, and no otherwiſe; there being nothing in it contrary to the Law of Nature, ſince God did afterward confirm it.

In anſwering of their former reaſoning, from a particular Negative to a general Affirmative, we proceeded by the way that is as ſtrong as theirs was ſleight; I mean, by demonſtration from the effects to the cauſe (the ſame way that we prove a God) for where there was example, encouragement and penalty demonſtrated, there the Law it ſelf (the cauſe of theſe) was alſo demonſtrated, by a neceſſary conſequence. And ſo in handling this their other Topick, *A poſſibili ad neceſſarium*, I ſhall go near to requite them by arguing quite contrary, *A neceſſario ad impoſſibile.*

But, firſt, What kind of arguing is this? There is no Command revealed about a matter of ſuch moment as ſacrificing; and therefore there was none, nor any reaſon to be given why ſuch a thing ſhould be omitted. And yet to ſay that it is poſſible and likely (of as great

great moment as it is) that men should find it out by the use of right reason, whereas this is less revealed than the other? And less reason to be given why or how it should be first devised? We say still, it was absolutely necessary, that after the Fall there should be sacrificing; but that it was utterly impossible that man should invent it of himself. And if *Socinus* doth not ground his own *Hypothesis* upon Scripture, wherefore doth he call for Scripture, Scripture? And when we shew him Scripture, what avails it in the case of Sacrifices, when he shall set the same reason that invented them, above the Scriptures; giving it authority to expound them (not so as right reason, but) as the reason of *Socinus* shall allow? Is not this to appeal always to himself? And what hath he deserved of the truth, that we (that revere the Scripture indeed) should defer so much authority to him? Do we not see that he alledgeth Scripture only to baulk us, and admitteth it not to inform himself? But let us appeal, however, unto such as will hearken what the Scripture saith, and believe it.

Gen. 22. 2, 13. Was not *Abraham* expresly commanded to offer up his Son *Isaac*, and did not God

God provide him of a Ram in the ſtead of his Son? And, ſaid not God unto *Jacob, Go up to Bethel, and dwell there, and make there an Altar unto God?* The Queſtion is, Whether God commanded theſe things, becauſe *Cain* (ſuppoſe) being a very wiſe man, had invented them before, or becauſe God himſelf had commanded the like before; what do you think? Is it more reaſonable that men ſhould preſcribe a *modus* of his own worſhip unto God, or he to men? Or do you think it proper that God himſelf ſhould ſecond a project of the wicked *Cain*, or the decayed *Adam?* Gen. 22. 2, 13. —35. 1.

And what though the firſt Law be not recorded, (as many Laws of *England*, depending on the ancienteſt Cuſtoms of all, are not; and yet are held to be ſuch, as out of which *Magna Charta* was compoſed, and which, without ſo much as mention in any Statute, are accounted to be prime Law amongſt us) does it therefore follow that there was none? What think you of Murder before *Noah?* of burning for Adultery afterwards? or of the Law of Leviration, obliging the Brother ſurviving to raiſe up Seed unto his Brother; for the breach of which, God Almighty being provoked (beſides Gen. 38. 9. 24.

the other aggravation) cut off *Onan* in his prime? Shew me the Laws, if you are able; and yet they were of such moment, that their breach (you see) was Capital. I instance in Laws (which is *ad idem* to the Question) since it nothing moves them when we shew, That divers things are recorded in the New Testament as delivered by *Moses*, (who was directed unto brevity) which we cannot find at all in him: as *Enoch*'s Prophecy, *Lot*'s perturbations for the wicked *Sodomites*, *Noah*'s preaching to the old World, *&c.* In a word, the fourth Chapter of *Genesis* was not the place wherein *Moses* was to set down the Law of Sacrifices, which he was after to reform.

Jude 14.
2 Pet. 2.5, 7, 8.

So that these two Points remain, in the whole, to discover the fallacies of our Adversary, and to vindicate the truth, *viz.* first, That after the Fall, Sacrifices were absolutely necessary towards the reparation. Secondly, That it is utterly improbable, and morally impossible, that any man should invent them; so that from the very first they should have been acceptable unto God on that account.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

What maketh the Socinians *talk ſo ſleightly of Sacrifices. The inconcinnity and implications of their opinion, in part detected.*

IN this it is that the *Socinians* trifle much, when they talk (prophanely) concerning Sacrifices, as if they had been but complemental or ſuperſtitious things; nay, but fond in their imaginations, and ſuch as they ſhould have never liked if they had lived then: which will repreſent their opinion to the more prejudice, if it ſhall at laſt appear that God himſelf was the Director of them only as a merciful remedy for man. But what though? Will they be any more aſhamed in this, than in their ſleighting of both the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, (of which they acknowledge Chriſt himſelf to have been the Author) while they drive them to another ſcope, and queſtion the neceſſity of their continuance? For what is there in water now, more than in fire before? or in Bread and Wine now, more than in the Cakes and Libaments, with the fleſh

and bloud of Sheep, before?

They say, (as it were by a *scomma* or a sarcasm) *Nobis, quibus alii mores*, &c. "To us, that are inured unto other manners and religious Rites for a long time, "it is in vain to judge, after so long a "time before, what might come into "the mind of another concerning Sacrifices; as if *Adam* and the Patriarchs were no other in their account but as old exotick Heathens, that had invented some way of worship: acknowledging, however, lest they should be free in any part from contradiction, *Hæc, & hujusmodi instituta, quæ ratio naturalis excogitavit, tanquam ad conspicuum Dei cultum, satis apta fuisse, & idonea.* "That "these Sacrifices, and what pertained to "them, were apt and proper enough "(though invented by men) to render "a certain kind of conspicuous service "unto God.

Ut supra, cap. 3.

Ita nimirum primæ vos homines naturæ lumine instituti judicant, ut cultum, & honorem conspicuum Deo adhibendum viderent, idque optimè fieri potuisse, si quod quisque optimum habuit, id ritu sacro Deo redderet. Ibid.

And so when they say, "It is no wonder that they should consume these "consecrated things by fire; for how "else could they prevent their reservation (possibly) unto prophane uses, after

"ter once they had been dedicated? They themſelves, that pretend to take their refuges in reaſon, do but raiſe us unto admiration of their confidence, when they tell us, that there is no wonder in ſuch a thing, whereof they can give no other but an illuſory or ridiculous reaſon, while they ſay, There is no wonder. For if this be ſtrange to us, how it ſhould come into the Patriarchs heads, to think to pleaſe God, by ſlaying of a Beaſt, without ſuch revelation; how ſhould it ſeem leſs ſtrange, that burning it, when they had done, ſhould enter into the ſame heads, for any one reaſon more than another? Certes, the reaſon which theſe *Socinians* give, *viz.* That nothing might remain of that which they had thus devoted unto God, doth but edge upon the brim of two other contradictions of their own, or ſome of theirs. For they ſay, That *Cain* brought only of the fruits of the Ground at the end of Harveſt; explaining themſelves ſo, as if they did not think he burnt them, (whatſoever he did with them) nor is it likely that he did: nay, in after times, God accepted of divers kinds of Gifts and Offerings, which were not to be conſumed; but conſerved

Hæc enim ſic intelligi volunt, ut finis dierum Caino meſſis exitus eſſet: Abeli autem tempus illud, quæ pecorum fœtu auctus erat. ſect. 5.

rather for his Priests, or for his Tabernacle, or Temple, and the Utensils and Ornaments thereof. And as for *Abel*, *Hugo Grotius*, not to be excused of favouring them in this particular opinion (however it stand in others) doth upon the matter bring it into Question, Whether *Abel* himself offered by fire.

For being prelled with this Argument, That if there had not been some revelation from God, men would scarce have thought of offering their own food to God, (which anciently were the only Offerings) he being of the opinion, That the old World (so much given to the flesh) did eat none before the Flood; falls upon this broken shift to say, That *Abel* offered not the flesh it self, but only the Milk and fine Wool thereof. (*Cujus tamen sententiæ*, saith my Author, *nescio an quenquam adjutorem habeat.*) But in the mean time he leaves us as much to admire what he did with the Beast, if he did not burn it, being slain: Did he rather bury it, to with-hold a Sacrifice by fire? Or did he spare all his Flock to be immortal, while Man alone was subject to mortality? Or what need had *Abel* to bring such Sacrifices as these but once a year, the profits whereof arose

roſe daily?- Or how was *Abel's* Sacrifice of more value than *Cain's?* Or indeed, a thouſand Head of Sheep or Cattel of any great worth, if their Fleſh were not? Which of the contradictions of theſe rational Queriſts ſhall we embrace, ſince they cannot all hold together, nor yet agree one with another? In fine, if ſuch a conceit as this might by natural reaſon have entred into the heads of ſome of the Ancients, it is a wonder why it ſhould not into theirs alſo, who ſet Diſhes before their Idols (to which ſome paſſages of the Prophets ſeem to allude) for them to feed upon? For if they had thought of burning them, the Prieſts, who would not defraud their own *Genius's*, could not have defrauded their Idols in the Night. Or why might not we, at this day, have diſcovered ſuch an uſe of conſuming by fire thoſe Preſents, which the *Chineſe*, *Tartars*, or *Americans* do offer unto their *Pagods?* which I cannot learn to be true from the report of Travellers, although they make fires, and rings, and feaſts, and the like, as barbarous people have been ſtill accuſtomed. But I will tell you more anon, why God required and directed fire; and not He

that was to be tormented with it hereafter, together with all his Complices.

CHAP. VIII.

The summ of our opinion related in the words of Eusebius Cæsarienſis. *Sleight exceptions againſt them noted. Our opinion ſtated more at large. That it implies an inconvenience to oppoſe* Socinus, *and our opinion too. The Subject of the next Chapter laid down.*

Point I. BUT to come up cloſely to the Queſtion: Our firſt Parents, after their tranſgreſſion, muſt either fall immediately to ſacrificing, (eſpecially by fire) or elſe yield themſelves to go into that fire of Hell, which they had deſerved without remedy. Neither have we forgotten that all this cometh in upon occaſion of ſhewing how they repented, believed and were reſtored unto Grace by the Church, whereof the promiſed ſeed was the Head, in the uſe of the means of Grace. To proceed therefore in our purpoſe.

The

The summ of all is contained in that passage of *Eusebius*, quoted by my Author (though by him so qualified, as if either Party might take their advantage of it, and abound in their own sense; which we (for our parts) think ought not to be left to an indifferent liberty.) "I do not think (saith he) that the "thought of sacrificing came by chance, "or by design of man. For the godly "(then) and such as were familiarly ac-"quainted with God, and were enlight-"ned by his Divine Spirit in their souls, "saw what manner of need they had of "a great means of healing, for the do-"ing away [or expiation] of their mor-"tal sins; and therefore thought a re-"compence was to be made [or a redem-"ption] for their salvation, to the Gi-"ver of life and soul. And since they "had nothing better or more worthy "than their own souls to consecrate unto "God, in the stead of these they sacri-"ficed unreasonable Beasts, laying "down [or offering] up their lives as ho-"stages [or pledges] for their own.

Τούτου δὲ τὴν λογισμὸν ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι οὐ τὴν τυχόντα, οὐδ' ἀνθρωπίνως κεκειμένον, κατὰ θείαν δὲ ὀπίνοιαν ὑποβεβλημένον. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἑώρων ἅτε τὸν τρόπον ὁσοσεβεῖς, καὶ θεῷ προσῳκειωμένοι, θείῳ τε πνεύματι τὰς ψυχὰς πεφωτισμένοι μεγάλης αὐτοῖς θεραπείας δεῖν εἰς ὑποκάθαρσιν τῶν θνητῶν πλημμελημάτων, λύτρον τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας τῷ καὶ ζωῆς, καὶ ψυχῆς χορηγῷ προσοφε ἱλεῶς ἡγοῦντο. Ἔπειτα μηδὲν κρεῖττον, καὶ τιμιώτερον τῆς οἰκείας ψυχῆς καθιερῶν ἔχοντες, ἀντὶ ταύτης τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων προσῆγον θυσίαν, τῆς σφῶν ψυχῆς ἀντίψυχα προσκομίζοντες. Euseb. Cæsariens. de dem. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

There

There are two shifts obtended over this authority to avoid the manifest pertinency and cogency of it. First, That he makes no mention of inanimate Offerings in the Case; but it is confessed that he had spoken somewhat of them before, *viz.* That they availed little to the Point in hand, the expiation of sin.

Secondly, That he doth not say, that the Beasts which *Abel*, *Noah*, or *Abraham* sacrificed, were offered unto God, *explicatâ aliquâ ipsius Lege*, by any manifest Law of his; but only by some Divine enlightning (it may be) of their minds, not common unto all, but imparted only unto some of the best of men: And this they think maketh not at all against their own supposition. Which trifling baffling, I shall also endeavour to uncase presently, that when I do proceed I may the sooner wind up all that doth remain of this Argument upon its last bottom.

We say in summ, That the Law of sacrificing was revealed unto *Adam*, and no other; and only taught by, and derived from him: That no Sacrifice apart was ever of any avail at all, without respect to that which was made by blood. And we have proved how the first

first illumination or direction amounted to a Law; and shall shew the manner, in order, as we can come to it. We utterly reject the fallacious insinuation, as if only extraordinary men did sacrifice; and we say, That *Cain* and all his did sacrifice (one way or other) as well as *Seth*, there being no need of any second illumination. But the main subtilty lyes about the ἐπιγνῶναι of the first, *viz.* Whether *Adam* and *Eve* did excogitate Sacrifice, or no; and if they did, Whether by their own natural reasons, with nothing else but some remote assistance of illumination, such as a man may have by study? When we therefore say further, That Sacrifices were absolutely necessary after the Fall, for the reparation of *Adam* and his Posterity; we must distinguish against the Sons of *Cain*, or the Magnifiers of his Sacrifice by inanimate things (if they were of more worth) above *Abel*'s, which was by the choicest Animals that he had; as if both alike were no more but returns of thanks to God, by a visible token, for his outward benefits, according to their several kinds: I say, we must distinguish betwixt Sacrifices of expiation, or atonement for sin, (which they deny) and those

thoſe others, whatſoever they were, that were Propitiatory only, or Euchariſtical. And we ſay, That they were all abſolutely neceſſary (but eſpecially the firſt) and all alike revealed, before they could be tendred unto God.

Now why *Socinus* thinks ſo meanly or indifferently of Sacrifices, as not belonging to ſalvation, is not far to ſeek. For he holds, (as we have hinted before) 1. That the light of Nature alone, without this excogitation, was ſufficient; 2. That natural Religion is only moral, which Sacrifices are not; 3. That there is no ſuch thing as expiation, or ſatisfaction for ſin; but that it is done away by merely pardoning: 4. That Chriſt (therefore) ſuffered no vicarious puniſhment for ſin, figured by any Sacrifices, which themſelves imported no ſuch matter; but that he was only ſacrificed as a good man for the publick good. But what ſhould move any man to grant unto *Socinus*, that Sacrifices might be found out by men; and that they became not figurative, or expiatory, until *Moſes*,

Qui Socinianorum Scripta legerit, ita de morte Jeſu Chriſti, ita de illius Sacrificio (quod à morte ejus ſemper ſejungunt) judicâſſe ſentiet, ut alteri omnem planè detraxerint pœnæ vicariæ rationem, nobiſque gratiæ apud Deum altero impetratum exiſtimaverint: ut qui licet mortis ejus vim aliquo modo circa Deum, vim tamen Sacrificii ejus circa homines primò verſari ſtatuerint. Outram. in Præf.—

and

and yet oppoſe him; I cannot imagine, unleſs it be to gratifie a more modern Father; or becauſe they are well enough aſſured of ſufficient Arguments (beſides) out of the Old and New Teſtaments, to overthrow the *Socinian* ſuppoſitions; and ſo to let this opinion of revelation go how it may to them that are fonder of it; ſuppoſe ſome or other of the *Calviniſts*.

Let it favour or diſfavour any Party whatſoever (as it may happen) I doubt not but that paſſage of *Euſebius*, which I have borrowed from my Author, contains the Catholick Doctrine; to be ſeconded by the authority of more Fathers, when I come to prove, *Unam eſſe omnium fidem.* In the mean while, (in proſecution of my firſt Argument, ſet down in the cloſe of the ſixth, and beginning of the laſt Chapter) I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, 1. How this revelation of the will of God concerning Sacrifices may be conceived; and then, 2. That it was neceſſary to be received and obeyed.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Offering of Sacrifice revealed, 1. *By the light of Grace. The ends of Sacrifice ſhewed, and the true reaſon of conſuming it by fire.* 2. *By the light of Prophecy, as the Day of Chriſt to* Abraham. *That hereupon our firſt Parents muſt needs obey.*

1. FOR the firſt, we may conceive two ways, whereby it pleaſed God to reveal his will unto *Adam*, concerning Sacrifices, as a means of his recovery,

Lumine { *Gratiæ, &* / *Prophetiæ.*

Firſt, In a way of Grace and Mercy; which was not ſo obſcurely as obliquely tendred to him. For after his Fall, Expoſitors have obſerved, that Gods beginning with the Serpent firſt, to ſentence him (who was the firſt in fault) imported a reſervation of greater mercy to them that were but drawn in, and ſo betray'd. And when he had ſaid, *I will* Gen. 3.14. *put enmity betwixt the Woman* (a Type of the Church) *and the Serpent* (the Devil) *and betwixt his Seed* (the Reprobate

bate World) *and her Seed* (the Elect) that they were given out of hand to understand that they should not dye presently, as they had deserved; but should live to see a various Seed. And when they heard, in the close, that *the Seed of the Woman should bruise the head of Satan*, whereas his Seed should only *bruise the heel* of the other, by temporal tribulations; they had light enough given them to perceive that they should not only obtain a redemption by that blessed Seed promised, but also a certain Victory at the last: which some of the ancient Rabbins understood as relating to their *Messiah*. But if any one will rather chuse to be frivolous with the modern *Jews*, it is in vain to stand to beat the truth into them with a Mallet.

Surely, none found the effects more of God's severity or goodness, imported in the whole judgment, than our first Parents themselves; since they both suffered more troubles in the flesh, and obtained more favour than any of their Posterity. For (as *Estius* counts) *Adam* was a longer Liver (being created in perfection) of nine hundred and thirty years,

Si detrahas primos 60. annos Mathusalæ, ætatem persistam præcedentes, facilè inde conjici potest, quantò longior fuerit Adæ vita. In sent. dist. 17. §. 1.

years, than *Methuſalah* of nine hundred forty nine; who began not to procreate (for ought appears) till ſeventy; unleſs it be ſaid, that Children of leſſer note are wholly omitted in the Genealogy.

Gen. 5.15. Only *Mahalel* began to generate at 65.

Wherefore, when our firſt Parents ſaw themſelves delivered from the utmoſt fear to ſome certain hope, they muſt needs conceive that ſomewhat was thereupon to be done by them in hope. But what that was, how could they have poſſibly imagined, if the ſame Grace that gave the promiſe, had not both enlightned the eyes of their minds, to know the meaning of it, and what to do in order to obtain it, or in expectation of it? So that according to *Euſebius* it muſt needs be ſome way or other mercifully inſinuated to them; that whereas they had deſerved death in their own perſons by tranſgreſſion, they ſhould put to death in their own ſteads the faireſt of their living Creatures, that were clean (and not the Serpent) and then offer them up unto God above by fire, that their prayers might aſcend therewith, and their ſins be forgiven, as if

Victimæ enim piacularis peccata, de quibus immolabantur, pœnâ vicariâ expiârunt. Cætera Sacrificia omnia ad Dei gratiam vel impetrandam, vel commorandam divinitus inſtituta. Outr. in Præf.

they

they were utterly consumed. And here may be a place to shew the reasons of offering by fire.

If we consider the ends of sacrificing in the general, it will soon afford some light into it. Which were, 1. To represent, and to be a memorial of the great Sacrifice of Christ to come, who should once be offered up in behalf of Sinners. 2. To lecture to them the desert of sin and Sinners, death, and fire, in the death and firing of the Sacrifice before their eyes. 3. * To acknowledge their Goods received from God, in offering up to him somewhat of all they had. 4. To be a matter of Worship and Religion in those times of ceremoniousness; wherein all did acknowledge their homage to God, and true Believers acted their faith on Christ's sufferings. 5. To be signs of repentance, and pledges of expiation; when they should see (that is to say) the innocent slain instead of the nocent, and their sins to pass away (as it were) with the smoke that ascended from the Altar.

Dr. *Lightfoot's* Temple-Service, ch. 8.

* *Continet hoc Sacrificii genus protestationem, quod homo totum, & omne bonum suum accepisset à Deo, cum recognitione, & gratiarum actione. Idroque totum illud Sacrificium, nullâ parte reservatâ, igne consumi debebat in honorem Dei.* Est. in lib. 2. dist. 26. §. 27.

To these others add, That the Sinner was hereby admonished to burn up

(as it were) all animal-concupiscences within him, which have their rise from blood and fat; and so, to eradicate all vice within them. But the main reason is that which God hath given us himself; for whereas the Patriarchs offered whole Burnt-offerings, without any curious ordering of their Sacrifice, when God directed *Moses* afterwards how to wash the Inwards, and divide the parts, and how then to put them again together, and burn them on the Altar, he saith,

Exod. 29. 18. Levit. 1. 9. *It is a sweet savour, an Offering made by fire unto the Lord.* Therefore they were to burn their Offering then, that the odour thereof might ascend with their prayers into the nostrils of God, at whose right hand the Mediator was (even then also) to do the same Offices for his Church and people that he doth now, as it is described in the Revelation,

Rev. 8. 3. that *he stood at the Altar, having a golden Censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it up with the prayers of all Saints upon the golden Altar, which was before the Throne. And the smoke of the incense which came with the prayers of the Saints, ascended up before God out of the Angels hand.* Say not therefore, that the savour of Beasts, being

being burnt, could not be ſweet of it ſelf, any more than that of the ſinful prayers of men. God ſmelleth not as men do; but though under *Moſes*'s order, other things were added unto Burnt-offerings, that there might be no evil ſavour (poſſibly) in the Temple, as to men; yet all received another ſcent, with a ſweet perfume and odour, as it paſſed through the miniſtration of the Angel, the Mediator of either Teſtament, before it came into the noſtrils of his Father.

De precibus veroſacrificalibus quales erant. Vid. Outr. l. 1. c. 15. & Jo. Seld. de jure nat. & Gentium juxta diſcipl. Ebr. l. 3. c. 8. & *Lightfoot* c. 9. §. 6.

Secondly, *Lumine Prophetiæ*; Whether it were by viſion, or any other way of Prophetical revelation, *Adam* as a Prophet might have all this and more (as no doubt he had) from God; for elſe how ſhould the firſt Church of all have been informed or directed according unto God or godlineſs? We may not therefore ſuppoſe *Adam* little the worſe for his Fall, as *Socinus*; or as deprived of his natural endowments, (the Image of God) but only of all the extraordinary improvements and comforts that he had before, when he had ordi-

Adami, ſive præfecti Eccleſiæ moderandæ duplex fuiſſe videtur officium: unum Prophetiæ, alterum Sacerdotii... Sæpius iteravit, & expoſuit Uxori increpationem, & promiſſionem ſibi factam, item & Liberis ſuis, eóſque Genuinum Dei cultum docuit: atque ita prophetam egit, ut & fuit. Bertr. de Rep. Ebr. cap. 2.

Ea. in l. 2. dist. 23. sect. 3. nary communion with God. So that it is still held in the Schools, That *Adam* was absolutely the wisest of all mortal men, (not *Solomon* excepted, whose wisdom was Government) and that he did not after cease to know those Creatures which he had named in Paradise. And as he was the first that received Grace, so we may well think that he received it not in the least measure. Wherefore, since our Saviour doth assure us, (and yet it is not to be proved out of *Moses*) that *Abraham longed to see his day, and that he saw it, and was glad*; Most like it might be then, when he was about to set his Knife to *Isaac*'s throat; and lo, a Ram was provided ready for him to offer up instead of *Isaac*, and the Angel from above staid his hand from such a sad issue of obedience: and *the Angel swore, saying, By my self have I sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing, In blessing I will bless thee.* And had not *Abraham* reason to be glad? We may doubt no less of *Adam*, at some one time or other, when he received this Ordinance of Sacrifice, to be continued in their Generations, until *Shiloh* came.

Gen. 2. 20.

John 8. 56.

Gen. 22. 11, &c.

2. Then (after this) they must needs receive and obey this enlightning from above;

above; for if we think upon *Adam*'s Case, he must needs at first be thunderstruck with the terrible appearance of God, calling him to judgment, and passing sentence on him. For if *Moses* said, (which is not to be proved *in terminis*, out of his own Books neither) *I exceedingly fear and quake*, when he received the Law in the Mount; how much more our first Parents, when they hid themselves, and made such weak and lamentable excuses (being forced to appear) for their transgression? But what should they do at last? Should they rest in despair, and in dejection? Or should they rather strive and endeavour to rise again? Certainly, to rise: but if so, must it not be by a right repentance? And was that possible without hope? Or such an hope, without a ground of faith? Or such a faith without a clear evidence to support it? And if you say they might repent, believe and pray; and that that might be enough without Sacrifice: I answer, That there was never any faith without the Church, never any Church without Ordinances, whereby a right faith might be supplied, and the Object of faith (in some measure) conveyed unto right Worshippers. It is in vain to Heb. 12. 21.

imagine that they should have some faith, and no practice; or any right practice without a certain faith before, without which *it is impossible to please* Heb. 11. *God*. These therefore put together, did constitute a true Church, in the persons of *Adam* and *Eve*, and the Head of the Church (two or three, till they bred more) and a sure Religion unto them and theirs: of the nature of which it is, that if it be not imposed by another (but excogitated only) it is no Religion; which signifies a bond or tye, such an one as a man cannot lay upon himself; and if he do, it binds not his God to accept it, or reward it in the least; or, so much as to approve of it, lest it be a thing incongruous, or disagreeable unto himself.

We cannot therefore imagine any time at all betwixt the Fall, and the introducing of some Religion, by the benefit of which our first Parents might recover. But the *Socinians* must needs suppose it, if the Offering of Sacrifices were indeed the first Religion, which they deny not; and yet, that it hung in suspense, till a certain space of excogitation: they care not, though it be till *Cain* and *Abel* were grown unto maturity.

In

In the mean while, is not this true, that they which live without a right Religion, do live without God in the World, and are in a kind of reprobate eſtate? Which doleful apprehenſion about our firſt Parents, I have ſhewed you before how much the Catholick Church abhorreth.

CHAP. X.

The laſt ſhift of the Socinians *diſcuſſed, wherein is ſhewed, That Sacrifices, neither probably nor (morally) poſſibly could be invented by men, ſo as to be approved by God. And that they had been unnatural, if they had not been ordained towards a myſtery.* Socinus *not ſo pious as* Pelagius, *or* Homer.

IN fine, Whereas the *Socinians* do diſtinguiſh betwixt the Laws of Nature, that were eternal and immutable, and thoſe which excogitating reaſon might ordain, towards the ſetting up of ſome Point II.

Hunc ſacrificandi Ritum ad Naturæ Leges propriè dictas, æternas utique & immutabilis non referre; ſed ad ejuſmodi inſtitata, quæ ratio naturalis excogitaverit, tanquam ad conſpicuum Dei cultum apta ſatis, & idonea... Neque ipſa animalia ab Abele, Noa & Abrahamo, Deo immolata, explicitâ aliquâ ipſius Lege, ſed Divinâ quâdam ratione, quæ non omnium communis erat, ſed potius optimi cujuſque propria. Outr. ubi ſupra.

conſpicuous and idoneous worſhip, to be rendred unto God; and affirm, that Sacrifices had their original from the latter, inaſmuch as they were not contrary to the former; (granting that they were not neceſſarily implied in the former) and ſay (beſides) that what *Abel*, *Noah* and *Abraham* might do (in this kind) might be indeed by ſome eſpecial Divine way; ſo that it was not common unto others, but only proper to themſelves, or ſuch excellent men as they: they have given us the laſt hints of Argument to proceed, and to conclude on ſomewhat in the cloſe.

We have ſhewed before, the vanity of their reaſoning, *à poſſibili ad neceſſarium*, from a thing poſſible to the certainty of the thing, or to the probability either. For who ever thought, that a thing not repugnant muſt needs be, or be moſt likely, at the leaſt? How many inſtances might be given to expoſe ſuch a ſuppoſition to laughter? But the way which I propounded laſt was, to detect their legerity, by arguing, *à neceſſario ad impoſſibile*, from a thing neceſſary to a thing impoſſible. I have ſhewed, that Sacrifices were neceſſary to do away ſin: if they like not that, yet they ſeem not

to

to deny, but that they were apt and fit enough to ſet forth ſome conſpicuous worſhip and ſervice unto God. And if this ſacrificing for either end, was a Duty not revealed, nor likely, nor poſſible to be excogitated by any man; then man was obliged to an impoſſibility by nature (at leaſt excogitating) which is abſurd, *Quia nemo tenetur ad impoſſibile.*

Will they ſay, that it was not neceſſary from the beginning to offer any Sacrifice at all, but only to ſet up ſome way of worſhip; and that another way might have been invented, if this had not been fit enough? They themſelves are not able (in this light of day) ſo long after, to ſhew what that other way might have been. Will they ſay, they deny not ſome direction; but that it came in uſe (*divinâ quâdam ratione*) they know not how, but by mens uſing of their right minds, the government of God (it may be) over-ruling them? This, I have noted before, was the ſhift of the old *Pelagians*; who finding ſome Grace to be undeniable, would have it all to be placed in the natural gifts of knowledge, Free-will and moral Vertues, together with the benefits of Gods Providence

Ut ſupra cap. 2.

vidence and Government: but all this (as I have alſo ſhewed before) is not enough to conſtitute a Religion, which muſt needs come from ſome Law impoſed, and revealed from God himſelf; much leſs a Covenant betwixt God and man, or a certain ſign thereof, as Sacrifice was, *viz.* Of our firſt Parents thereby entring into the Covenant of Grace, *Gather my Saints together unto me* (he ſays, *Pſal.* 50. 5.) *thoſe that have made a Covenant with me by Sacrifice.* Which was not the ſign of the Covenant by *Moſes*, but only circumciſion. But from which of the firſt reaſons (however over-ruled) ſhould it proceed? From *Adam*'s? He was at an utter loſs, and if he had gone about ſuch a thing (of his own head) more apt to fall into the ſnare of the Tempter again, than to hit it right towards God; From *Cain?* He was a Reprobate; From *Abel*, *Noah* and *Abraham*, according to ſuch reſpective enlightnings as they had? Then ſo many good men, ſo much variety of ſacrificing; which was all but uniform until the Law of *Moſes*.

Let us therefore come to the laſt winding up of the botom. 1. It was not probable, 2. It was morally impoſſible,

ble, that any man ſhould invent ſacrificing, ſo as to pleaſe God thereby, upon their own accounts.

1. It was not probable, that either *Adam* or *Abel* ſhould invent the ſacrificing of living Creatures, (ſince of *Cain* there remains no further Queſtion, as to his own perſon, whatſoever his Deſcendents did, becauſe he brought only of the fruits of the ground) as any acceptable ſervice unto God. For *Adam* and *Eve* (for their parts) they being due to death themſelves (from which they were but reprieved only in reſpect of temporal death) it cannot well be imagined, that one of the firſt thoughts that ſhould enter into their minds, ſhould be to kill any of their lower Fellow Creatures; as being afraid in themſelves to ſee what natural death might be, much more a violent one, in any other; more eſpecially, wrought by their own hands, which had brought all other things into bondage with themſelves, howſoever innocent. And as for *Abel*, he could have no leſs eſtranged apprehenſions from the like ſlaughter, *For a righteous man regardeth the life of his Beaſt, but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel*; even as the very Sacrifices of the Heathen. Rom. 8. 20. Prov. 12. 10.

And

And *Abel* besides was a Shepherd, which sort of men are so tender of their Flocks, that *David* encountred a Lyon and a Bear in their defence; and our Saviour himself saith, *The Thief cometh not but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy; but the good Shepherd giveth his life for the Sheep.*

John 10. 10, 11.

2. So that it was morally impossible, that such good men as these should ever devise such a way as this of their own heads, or approve of it in their own conceits, if they had not been informed of a mystery in the Case. For it would have been a sin against the Creator to have slain his Creature, (for no mischief done, nor yet for food) if he had not required Sacrifice, or the death of the innocent (which he valued less) instead of the nocent, which he loved more. What was his speech to *Jonah? Should not I spare Nineveh that great City, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons, that cannot discern betwixt their right hands and their left, and also much Cattel?* The Children and the Cattel being innocent alike, and so far Objects of Divine compassion, according to their different worths and natures.

Jonah 4. 11.

We hear what they say, That these did

did it to acknowledge the right and dominion of the Lord of life and death, and that it was not unnatural, becauſe that God confirm'd it afterwards by *Moſes*, and Chriſt in fine aboliſh'd it, which he never did any Law of Nature, which is eternal and immutable.

But if they did this to acknowledge the right of the Lord of life and death only, why did they take his right from him? Was that the proper way to acknowledge it? For if they ſlew the Creature in their own right (before God had put it into their hands) they wronged the Lord of life by bare killing, much more by preſenting of ſuch a death, as an acceptable token to him. To the Lord of life, a living Preſent is a fitter token than a dead; for he delighteth not in the death of any of his Creatures, he willeth not ſo much as the death of a Sinner, but rather that he ſhould turn and live. But as the ſame is the Lord of death by his own free diſpenſation, for *again he ſaith, Return ye Children of men*; Pſal. 90. 3. ſo he will be avenged on them that take this out of his hand, to haſten the end Deut. 32. 35. of any of his Creatures, having once Pſal. 94. 1. ſaid, *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay* Rom. 12. 19. *it, ſaith the Lord.* Heb. 10. 30.

In

In a word, if there had been no myſtery in Sacrifices, they had been as unnatural in themſelves, as *Zipporah* counted Circumciſion; or, as we may account the ſeverities of *Moſes*, and of *Joſhuah*, and more eſpecially of *David* (who was a merciful man in his own nature) who

2 Sam. 12. 31. 1 Chron. 20. 3. *put the Ammonites under Saws, and Harrows of Iron, and hewed them with Axes, and caſt them into the Brick-kilns*, (or made them paſs through them) not only thoſe that reſiſted at *Rablah*, but all the Children of *Ammon*. A thing, which even *Turks* and *Tartars* would at this day ſhrink from committing, as contrary to the Laws both of Nature, and of Nations. So that God's confirming of Sacrifices afterwards doth only prove, that they were his Ordinance before; and Chriſt's aboliſhing of them, that they were ordained only for a time.

In this, at laſt, we find *Socinus* to exceed *Pelagius*, *viz.* That he holdeth but one way of ſalvation from the beginning to the end, (which is very true, if he had aſſigned the right) namely, by living according unto Nature; whereas *Pelagius* held, that that endured but till the Law, and that that was another way,

way, and Grace another after that. And that he doth not ſo much as come up to the Heathen Philoſophers, who though they ſometimes ſpeak lightly of prodigal Sacrifices, which God (they thought) delighted not in for themſelves; (as he alſo teſtifieth of himſelf in many places of the Scripture) yet they generally acknowledged Sacrifices to be piacular of offences, and pacatory of their offended Deities; according to the advice of *Calchas* unto *Agamemnon*, for removing of the Plague brought upon the *Grecian* Army (as he ſaid) for *Agamemnon*'s offence in uſing roughly of *Apollo*'s Prieſt, and detaining of his Daughter.

Οὐδ' ὅγε πρὶν λοιμοῖο βαρεῖας χεῖρας ἀφέξει, Hom. Il. 1.
Πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳ δόμεναι ἑλικώπιδα κούρην,
Ἀπριάτην, ἀνάποινον, ἄγειν θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην
Ἐς χρύσην· τότε μέν μιν ἱλασσόμενοι πεπίθοιμεν.

He will not from the Plague withhold his hand,
Until the black-ey'd Maid be ſent to ſtand

Before

Before her Father, and an hundred Head
Of Bullocks be presented to his meed,
To sacrifice, and then we shall appease
Apollo's *wrath*——

CHAP. XI.

Why Abel *cut off, and why without issue,* viz. *That the curse and the promise might obtain their respective turns. The Sentence of the Woman, as the weaker Vessel, lightest; and a blessing restored to her in the birth of the Seed promised. That* Cain *inherited* Adam's *curse, by his own choice. Of the City that he built, and how it might be peopled, so as to leave retinue enough to his Father* Adam, *and Brother* Seth, *besides.*

BUT was this the reward (at last) of the Grace and favour shewed unto *Abel's* Sacrifice more than *Cain's*, that he should be delivered up into those hands which God himself did hate, to be vilely murthered by them? So God, it seems, esteemeth (otherwise than men do) this to be the greatest honour that he can do his Saints, that

that they ſhould ſuffer for his ſake in this World, to the end that *Abel* might become the firſt Prophet upon record, (by which we may obſerve how he came, beſides his Fathers directions, to be better informed about his ſacrificing than his Brother) the firſt Martyr, and the firſt Inheriter of eternal life and Glory; as alſo, that on the perſecuting World *might come all the righteous blood ſhed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel* unto the utmoſt crucifying of Chriſt and of all his Members. Luke 11. 51. Matth. 23. 35.

Nor was *Abel* ſuffered to live ſo long, as to leave any Iſſue of his own, wherein he might have ſurvived here on Earth in another manner, (which might a little have alleviated the loſs of him towards his broken-hearted Parents) God reſerving for him *a better name than that of Sons and Daughters.* But, very probable it ſeems, that both his death was permitted, and his iſſue prevented, for two other ends, which I may point at here, *viz.* 1. That the Curſe, and 2. That the Promiſe, might both obtain their reſpective turns.

For God had ſaid firſt unto the Serpent, *Becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art curſed; and I will put enmity between thee* Gen. 3.

and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed. It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. And unto the Woman he said, *I will greatly multiply thy sorrow.* And unto *Adam*, *Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. Thorns also and Thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread, till thou return unto the ground whence thou wast taken.*

For the first,

It was denounced against the Serpent, and against the man, more extensively; but against the Woman (*tanquam medium tantùm participationis*) as the weaker Vessel, more remissly, though sad enough, *In sorrow shalt thou conceive.* But the benefit of the promise it self passeth through the Woman by a stroke darted through the Serpent, and reacheth to the man (*tanquam objectum tantùm participationis*) as the primary object of mercy only; since the Woman was of the Man, and all Mankind was to be the like thereafter, till the very promised Seed should come from the bowels of a Woman only. So that as Woman was taken out of Man at first, Man was taken out of Woman afterwards, without

out generation in both; but the regeneration that came by the latter to all Mankind, was infinitely a greater benefit than the constitution of a certain Sex or *Species* of Womankind before.

And for so much of the Serpents Curse as glanceth also terribly on the Posterity of man, the Lord had said, *I will put enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed* (poor Woman! that She her self must bear against her will!) *and her Seed* (which God should chuse, and She not know which was which) but the Seed of the Serpent was named first. This was *Cain*, the first, that was *conceived in iniquity and born in sin*; which yet was no more imputed unto him than unto *Abel*: what reason shall he therefore have to murmure? *If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lyeth at the door.* And yet poor *Eve* hoped that this had been the promised Seed, wherefore She called his Name *Cain, saying, I have gotten a man from the Lord.* Unto *Adam* God had also said, *Cursed is the ground for thy sake.* And this did *Cain* also obtain for his inheritance (as a double portion) by his own

Gen. 3.

Gen. 4. *Cain est possessio* קָנָה *In eo n. putabant redemptionem esse in foribus: ergo Letum ti nomen imposuerunt. Dz* הֶבֶל *Abele nulla spes erat, ideo vanitatis nomine potius illum insignivere.* Fagius.

Gen 4. 1.

choice; for whereas *Abel was a Keeper of the sheep, Cain was a Tiller of the ground.*

Of the competition likewise betwixt the two Seeds it is said further, *It shall bruise* the Serpents *head*, but the Serpents *Seed shall bruise* the others *heel.* Now the Seed of the Woman (if that was *Abel*) was so far from beginning at all with the Seed of the Serpent (so much as to tread upon its tail, much less to bruise his head) that it was not only bruised in the heel by a small hurt from the Serpent, but in the head it self, by the death of *Abel*, quite contrary to what might be expected.

But the Answer is, Though *Cain* knock'd his Brother in the head, yet the Seed of the Serpent did but bruise the heel of the Church (which was the Womans Seed) in the person of *Abel*, who was the first Type of Christ, *qui patiendo vicit*, who overcame, and so broke the head of the Serpent by his sufferings. For

Dæmona, non armis, sed morte, subegit
IESUS.

Wherefore as Christ arose from the dead the third day, and then triumphed gloriously over Principalities and Powers; so did *Abel* rise again (to the benefit of the

the Church) in the perſon of his Brother *Seth*, *For God*, ſaid *Eve*, *hath appointed me another ſeed inſtead of Abel, whom Cain ſlew*; by whom the Serpent was to be ſped at laſt. Gen. 4. 25.

In the mean while, there are two further Points to be diſcreetly traverſed, 1. That *Adam* lived nine hundred and thirty years (and it is likely *Eve* ſomewhat near the matter, whether more or leſs) and begat other Sons, not mentioned, and Daughters, whereof the name of never an one is at all recorded. 2. That ſome penitent iſſue is not obſcurely ſhewn to have iſſued from *Cain* himſelf. Gen. 4. 3, 4. ver. 19, &c.

For all the Sons of *Adam*, not named, we may take it for granted that they either abode in their Fathers Tents (taking their Siſters to Wives, who were next to be taken) or went off with *Cain* to help him build and repleniſh his City; being nevertheleſs of the Seed of the Woman (or of the true Church) ſo long as they retained the Worſhip, the Rites, the Rules, and the Moral Laws, that they carried off from their Fathers houſe. And others of them cleaved unto *Seth*, and holp to make up his Family, becauſe the Earth muſt needs be repleniſhed,

nished, and Children go off to further distance. And thus we may conceive that the true Church was far from failing betwixt the death of *Abel*, and the birth of *Seth*, howsoever the necessity of livelyhood, or civil accommodation might divide the Members of it. But as *Adam* had lived a hundred and thirty years before he had *Seth*, so *Seth* lived a hundred and five years more before he had *Enos*. In which long tract of time, and encrease of Generations, when *men began to multiply on the face of the Earth, and that Daughters were born unto them; so that the Sons of God saw the Daughters of men that they were fair, and took them Wives of all they liked:* then the true Worshippers were fain to gather unto one House, or Tribe. And how they might attain to any consistency there, I refer you to the Letter of a learned Gentleman in the Postscript. All that remains to be said here is this, That when the House of *Seth* came to degenerate too, God brought a Deluge on the World, as it is commonly accounted 1656 years after the Creation.

Gen. 6. 1, 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Why God preſerved Cham *and* Japhet *in the Ark, as well as* Sem. *That though they followed the way of the old World, yet they were encreaſed in dominion (which was not the bleſſing promiſed) more than* Sem. *Nay, that he himſelf was greater in temporal acceſſions by other Sons, than by* Eber.

NOW one might think, ſince God Almighty was ſo much offended with the ſins of the old World, as to ſay, *It repented him that he had made man on the Earth, and it grieved him at his heart*, that he would have taken ſuch caution about the next ſucceſſion, that no generation like to that of *Cain*'s ſhould have ſurvived the Deluge. Yet as he preſerved ſome of all kinds (even of noxious Creatures) in the Ark, ſo he dealt by the intire Family of *Noah*. He would not prejudge the Caſes of *Japhet* and *Cham*, who were under the ſame protection, diſcipline, and common bleſſings with *Sem*, till they came to be ſevered in their habitations and progenies. "Among the Sons of *Noah* (ſaith Sir Gen. 6.

First Book of the History of the World. part 1. ch. 6. sect. 2.

"*Walter Raleigh*) there were found "strong effects of the former poyson. "For as the Children of *Sem* did inherit "the Vertues of *Seth*, *Enoch* and *Noah*; "so the Sons of *Cham* did possess the vi- "ces of *Cain*, and of those wicked Gi- "ants of the first Age.

As for *Japhet*, we read no hurt of him, but it is rather recorded to his commendation, that he joined with his Brother *Shem*, to make some amends for the villany of *Ham*. who had exposed his Fathers nakedness. However, it is not obscurely implyed that *Japhet* was either fallen or about to fall off to degenerate worship; because this is added to his blessing (for that act of filial Grace and Duty) That God would at last enlarge or perswade *Japhet* to dwell in the Tents of *Sem*, who, though chosen by God, is for the most part concluded to have been the younger Brother: Which Prophetick Promise to *Japhet*, as the like Curse to *Ham*, were not to be accomplished in either of their persons, but in their posterities, some Ages after. Wherefore, for all the love and great favour that God shewed unto *Noah*, he would not hinder the accursed race of enmity from spreading out of his Loins also,

Gen. 9. 23.

Gen. 10. 21.

ſo, to be two ways branched, for the greater afflictions of *Sem*'s choiceſt Deſcendents, until the time appointed.

For as the Sons of *Noah* deſcended from Mount *Ararat*, (where the Ark reſted, whether it was *Caucaſus* or *Taurus*) *Ham* and his Sons ſeized on all that they were able to occupy, from the parts of *Meſopotamia* to the ends of *Africk*, which was the Road that a part of them took. Of his Son *Cuſh* deſcended *Nimrod*, the Founder of the enſuing *Babylonian* Greatneſs, as alſo *Aſſur* (who gave the Name to *Aſſyria*) that built *Niniveh*. And of his Son *Canaan* deſcended the *Sidonians*, *Hittites*, *Jebuſites*, *Ammonites*, *Girgaſites*, *Hivites*, *Arkites*, and other reprobate Hoards or Nations. Of his Son *Mizraim* deſcended alſo *Pathruſim*, the Father of the *Philiſtines*, and *Caſluhim*, the original of ſome of the Bordering *Arabians*. And ſuch of his Race as aimed further Southwards, peopled all *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, to the Lands end, ſo far as their number or encreaſe could ſeize on Lands without reſiſtance. So that out of *Ham* proceeded the Princes and people which held the great Kingdoms (as they grew) of *Babylon*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, for many Deſcents together, Gen. 10.

gether, towards the future oppreſſion of the Sons of *Sem*; the bleſſings of *Shem* and *Japhet* (as my Authour hath it) taking leſs effect, until the time appointed. So that the firſt great Lords of the Earth were of this accurſed Race, that they might threſh in the Theſhing-floors of *Iſrael*, and bring their Fans in their hands, whenſoever the Houſe of God was to be purged by the affliction of his people. And to ſhew beſides that God accounteth not, as men do, of Worldly Greatneſs, he letteth it go (to chuſe) unto the Heathen: who thereupon do idolize the Fortunes of their Princes, and ſet them up for Gods. The firſt of which this *Ham* is counted to have been, by the Name of *Jupiter Hammon*; and the places where he was adored moſt, do countenance that opinion. And who was ever ſet up for an Idol, but the worſt of men?

Sir *Walter Raleigh* 1. Book, 1. part, ch. 8. §. 2.

From *Japhet* alſo and his ſeven Sons, the *Medes*, *Scythes*, *Thracians*, *Macedonians*, *Grecians*, and the moſt part of *Leſſer Aſia* were repleniſhed; together with the *Iſles of the Gentiles*, by which name the ends of the habitable World were only known unto the *Hebrews*. From whence came *Alexander* firſt, and his

his Captains, and after them the *Romans*, to subdue and to waste *Eber*. Which events seem to have been more clearly revealed unto *Balaam*, than unto any of the better Prophets, even in the infancy of this people, while they travelled in the Desart towards this Land of Promise. *And Ships shall come*, saith he, *from the Coasts of Chittim, and shall afflict Ashur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever.* Numb. 24. 24.

Nor did no other, but the holy Line, run through *Sem* himself: For from his Son *Elam* the *Elamites* or *Persians* did derive their name; from *Arphaxad* the *Chaldeans* sprung; and some say, from his Son *Ashur* (and not *Nimrod*'s) the *Assyrians*: as from his Son *Aram* the *Aramites* or *Syrians*; and from his Son *Lud* the *Lydians* (what people soever they were) became known, according to the names of their Progenitors.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The knowledge of God dispersed in other Families, besides Sem's *: but corruption in his also occasioned the Call of* Abram. *Why* Lot *came with him, and why he was driven into* Egypt, *and brought back so soon. Piety in* Canaan *while* Sem *lived there. Nor was the whole election at first restrained to the House of* Abraham.

Though goodness may be repaired in our selves, yet it cannot be propagated unto ours.... Doubtless their education was holy: for *Adam*, tho' in Paradise he could not be innocent, yet was a good man out of Paradise, saith Bishop *Hall. Contemplat. on* Cain *and* Abel.

NOW as *Adam* taught his Children, as he himself had been taught by God, how to sacrifice and keep the Sabbath, with certain Rites of Worship, and Laws of life; so *Noah* also taught his Children all alike the same true Worship that had been delivered from *Adam*, (who dyed not much above an hundred years before the birth of *Noah*, since he lived nine hundred and thirty years, and *Noah* was born in *An. Mundi* 1056.) together with the true meaning of the Covenant after the Flood, betokened by a Rainbow. And because *Noah* lived three hundred and fifty years more, and the dispersion happened not in his life, the know-

knowledge of God must needs be far and wide dispersed in the Tents of *Cham* and *Japhet* as well as in those of *Sem*, before the Rout at *Babel*; and they that went off in that confusion of languages, could not chuse however but carry off some rudiments or other of their first breeding. But when true Religion came to be corrupted in *Sem*'s Family too, as well as in the rest, in the eighth Generation (about five hundred and two years after the Deluge) in the person of *Terah*, who became an Idolater, as the Scriptures do expresly * testifie (however Bishop *Montague* ‖ comes to have a better opinion of him) Then it pleased God to call forth his elect Vessel *Abram* from his Fathers house, to go into a Land that he would shew him, where his Seed should in time to come be planted alone by themselves in the middle of the Earth, and become a peculiar people unto God.

Ut fusè explicat Bertramus, l. de Rep. Ebr. cap. 2. & Jo. Seld. l. 3. de Jure Natur. & Gen. &c. cap. 8.

* Josh. 24. 2, 3. Isal. 51. 1, 2.

‖ Montag. apparat. c. 1. Sect. 28.

And *Abram* brought his Brother *Haran*'s Son *Lot* with him by God's permission, because he was a righteous man; and yet neither he nor his were to be comprized in the same Covenant with *Abraham* and his Seed. *Josephus* says, That *Abram* brought him along with

Jos. Antiq. l. 1. c. 8.

with him, with intent to make him his Heir, because as yet he had no Issue. But the same Providence that brought them forth together, within a while did sever them, that *Moab* and *Ammon* (that should hate the Seed of *Abraham* as much as *Lot* and *Abram* loved one another) might arise out of *Lot*'s incest, and be ready planted in the Land of *Canaan*, to be Thorns in the sides of *Israel*.

As for *Abram* himself, God had no sooner shewed him the Land of promise, but he forced him and *Lot* from thence by famine into *Egypt*, to try whether he would not stagger after such a promise, seeing such a defeat immediately upon it; as also to make him a Type of the Seed promised, who was to be driven into *Egypt* as soon as he was born; as also to begin the sufferings of Christ in his Body the Church. For it was from this time to be accounted, that the four hundred years should be accomplished in him and his Seed; of which he had received this threatning (after such a promise of Grace) for some shew of lesser faith than he had expresst before, *Know of a*

Egypt gives relief to *Abraham*, when *Canaan* could not afford him Bread, which yet he must believe shall flow with Milk and Hony to his Seed... Thrice had *Egypt* preserved the Church of God; in *Abram*, in *Jacob*, and in *Christ*. Bishop *Hall. Cont. of* Abraham.

Gen. 15. 13.

surety

ſurety that thy Seed ſhall be a Stranger in a Land that is not theirs (as *Egypt* and the parts about, for in *Egypt* it ſelf they remained but two hundred and ten years) *and ſhall ſerve them four hundred years.* But while *Abram* ſojourned here, he found more piety than he expected; as he after did in the ſame Caſe, at *Gerar* of the *Philiſtines.* However, *Pharaoh*'s miſtaken kindneſs unto *Sarah*, occaſioned the diſmiſſion of *Abram* and *Lot*, with all their ſubſtance, into *Canaan* (as it is thought) the very next year, where their ſubſtance being greatly encreaſed, they were fain to part; their Companies alſo being great, *Abram* was put to ſhew his power in falling upon four victorious Kings for the reſcue of his * Nephew *Lot*, who had been taken captive by them: for it is ſaid, that *Abram was very rich in Cattel, in Silver, and in Gold.* And for his great Retinue, when he treated with the Sons of *Heth* for a Burying-place for *Sarah*, they ſaid unto him, *Hear us, my Lord, thou art a mighty Prince amongſt us; in the choice of our Sepulchres bury thou thy dead*: As if there had

Gen. 12. 19. —20. 4, 8.

Simſon. Chronici Catholici parte 1. ad An. Mund. 2086.

Wherefore God enjoined *Abraham*'s Poſterity in after Generations to *ſpeak, and ſay before the Lord their God, A Syrian ready to periſh was my Father, and he went down into Egypt, and ſojourned there with a few, and became there a Nation,* &c. Deut. 26. 5.

* Gen. 14. Ch. 13. 2.

Ch. 23. 6.

had been yet some civility among these *Hittites*, of the Race of *Cham*, somewhat of kin to piety.

But when *Abram* returned with victory over the Kings which he had pursued, then *Melchizedeck King of Salem* came forth to meet him, and *he brought forth bread and wine* *, *because he was the Priest of the most high God. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, Possessor of Heaven and Earth. And Abram gave him tythes of all* [his spoils] as the Apostle doth expound it, *Heb.* 7. 4. So that here we are pointed to observe another Church, without the House of *Abram*, which hath an High Priest, whereas *Abram* himself had no greater Title than that of a Prophet; nor any greater Right to handle Divine Mysteries, than any other Father of a Family, (which derived Priesthood down from *Adam*) so that *Abram* paid Tythes unto him.

Ch. 14. 18, &c.

* (Whether to refresh his little Army, or to sacrifice, or both.)

Qui Melchisedecum nihil ad Sacrificia, nisi panè & vino usum censent, & rebus tantùm inanimis sacrificâsse arbitrantur, ki sanè quantum mihi videtur, quare sic judicent, nihil habent.

Gen. 20. 7.

Imò verò, si à Sacerdotio ejus aliena fuissent cruenta Sacrificia, quî factum est, ut ipse Christus, cujus idem Sacerdotii genus sanguine suo sacrificaret? Outr. l. 2. c. 1. [Ubi Vir Cl. coactus est fateri Sacrificia Typica, ac proinde institura ante Mosen.]

Not to enter into the whole Dispute about *Melchisedeck*, Saint *Paul* preferring

Gal 3.

ring ancient things before the latter, ſets the Covenant of Grace before the Law four hundred and thirty years; and thereby proves the excellency of it above the latter. And to ſhew that our Lord Chriſt was of a Royal Prieſthood, far above the Tribe of *Levi*, he proveth that *Levi* himſelf paid both tithes and homage to him, by *Abraham* in his Antitype *Melchiſedeck* (while *Levi* was in the loins of his Progenitor *Abraham*) as *Prieſt of the moſt high God, and King of righteouſneſs, and King of peace*, by augmentation of his titles, (King and Prieſt from ancient times agreeing in the ſame perſon, till God appropriated the Tribe of *Levi*, for the better preſervation of purity, after many of the Heads of Families were found ſo prone unto degeneracy) whatever proper name he might have beſides. The generality agree that he was a * mortal man (immortal only as a Type of Chriſt) and ſome think (as *à* || *Lapide* quotes the Authors) that he was one of the Roytelets of *Canaan*, who by God's Providence was preſerved to be both a faithful man, and a good King amongſt them. Which to me (*prophanum quoddam ſonat, & audax*) ſeems to be too bold a ſenſe to

* Videſis tamen quid de hâc re ſenſerit P. Cunæus de Rep. Hebræorum, l. 3. c. 3. || Corn. à Lap. in locum. Qui inter impios piè & juſtè vixit--- Accuratiſſimè v. Matth. Polus in Synopſi ad Heb. c. 7.

agree with that expression of our Apostle, *Now consider how great this man was* *, *unto whom even the Patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils.* Which words are surely imcompatible unto the best of the race of *Canaan.* But the circumstances agree well, that this *Melchisedeck* should be the great Patriarch *Sem*, the high Progenitor of *Abram*, from whom in a direct Line *Abram* was of the ninth Generation: for *Sem* begat *Arphaxad*, and He *Salah*, and He *Eber*, and He *Peleg*, and He *Reu*, and He *Serug*, and He *Nahor*, and He *Terah*, and *Terah Abraham.* And *Sem* lived in all, six hundred years, whereof a hundred and fifty in *Abraham*'s life time: so that very venerable must his presence needs be to *Abraham*, who was so much a *Puisné* among the Great, Great, Grand-Children of *Sem.*

* *Sine Patre, sine Matre, quia sine Genealogia, quod in aliis omnibus viris magnis contra à Mose fieri solebat: imò nullis parentibus esse dicti sunt magni & illustres Viri, quorum Parentes non memorantur. Nam Seneca duorum Regum meminit, quorum alter, inquit, Patrem non habet, alter Matrem.*

Ep. 108. In Outr. l. 1. c. 4. cujus Libri Cl. de Sacrif. ad manus meas non pervenêre, nisi post exaratas, & propemodum finitas hasce Chartas; quæ ratio est, cur in ipsis Columnis postea non citentur.

Now if any wonder how this *Sem* should come to dwell and have a Kingdom among the *Canaanites*, it is to be remembred what *Noah* had said when he cursed *Canaan, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his Servant.*

Gen. 9. 26.

Servant. So that for a time *Shem* might have an habitation amongſt them, and he built the City of *Salem* (as it is conceived) amongſt them, all other Nations becoming (ſoon) a confuſed medly of people, beſides the *Iſraelites*, whom God preſerved intire to himſelf. And ſo, it may be, this branch of *Sem* (after his death) that dwelt at *Salem*, might come to be incorporated with the other Nations, that were afterwards to be deſtroyed for their idolatry. But the bleſſing went away with his Son *Arphaxad* only, of all his Sons mentioned before, whither he went; and followed only his Poſterity, according to election, till the time of promiſe was compleat, and the iniquity of the *Canaanites* full, that the Sons of *Sem* by *Eber* alone might have it all at laſt. Gen. 10. 21, &c.

Only this we may obſerve, That for a long time after *Adam*, and after *Noah*, the Church of God was in divers Families, and in divers Kindreds. But as in the old World, the *Children of men* came to be diſtinguiſhed from the *Sons of God* by the Houſe of *Seth*, and his Son *Enos*, when *men began to call upon the name of the Lord*, in Aſſemblies apart from the other: So after the Flood, the like happened Gen. 4. 26.

pened to the House of *Sem*, the whole House of *Sem*; till out of this it pleased God to make a more particular election of the Seed of *Abraham*, for his peculiar people, to be his visible Church on Earth; to which all Nations owed reverence and obedience, as they hoped to share in the blessings of his holy Covenant (not to dispute here whether the whole Election or the whole Covenant of Grace, as to the inward part, was not larger than the Covenant of Promise, entailed only unto *Abraham* and his Seed, with the outward priviledges annexed to it) But before the Call of God to *Abraham*, he disdained not to be called *the Lord God of Shem*; yet after that, "it "was said to *Abraham* in appropriated "terms, with addition above *Sem*, for "his posterity, *I will be thy God, and "the God of thy Seed after thee.* By "which new way of entailment, ἡ κοι-"νὸν ἰδιοποιέμενος, God common, and "as common appertaining unto all, was, "saith *Chrysostome*, made his by peculiar "interest and appropriation; since when "it is delivered, declared and averred "by God himself, for him and his Seed, "*I am the God of Abraham, the God of "Isaac, and the God of Jacob; this is my "name*

Gen. 9.26.

Montague's Acts and Monuments (wch is his *Apparatus* otherwise accommodated) ch. 1. §. 29.

Gen. 17.7.

Exod. 3. 15.

" *name for ever, this is my memorial from* " *generation to generation.* And so he " continued known, and distinguished " in the World of old, until the incar- " nation, the God of *Israel* above other " people. Let us therefore next consi- der how it pleased God to form them.

CHAP. XIV.

That God's Command to Abram *might not seem too hard, it pleased him to mollifie it with an ample Promise, only general at the first: Which he delayed about twenty eight years to exercise the faith of* Abram, *and repeated with some variety to the sixth time, after long intervals,* Abram *running divers hazards between.* Abram *is terrified by seeking of a sign, and why.* Sarai *thinking the promise not to be to her, weakly giveth* Hagar *to her Husband: yet divers mysteries in the coming of* Ishmael *betwixt the promise and the Son of promise.*

" IF *Chaldæa* had not been grosly ido- " latrous (saith Bishop *Hall*) *Abra-* " *ham* had not left it: (But how could he Contempl. of Abraham, Book 2.

chuſe, ſince God had called him from
Acts 7. 2. thence, even out of *Meſopotamia*, which is invironed with the two great Rivers of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, about which Tracts the Garden of *Eden* is thought to have been ſituated?) "But whither "muſt he go? to a place he knew not? "to men that knew not him? The Text ſays no more, at the firſt word, but only
Gen. 12. 1, 2, 3... *unto a Land that I will ſhew thee.* Wherefore, that this Command of God might ſeem the leſs hard or ſtrange to *Abram*, he thought it not too much condeſcenſion to his choſen Veſſel, to mollifie it with a rich and gracious promiſe, both temporal and ſpiritual, *I will make of thee* (ſaith he) *a great Nation, and I will bleſs thee, and make thy name great, and thou ſhalt be a bleſſing. And I will bleſs them that bleſs thee, and curſe him that curſeth thee; and in thee ſhall all the families of the earth be bleſſed.*

In which promiſe it is contained, 1. That God would make of his Seed a great Nation; 2. That that Nation ſhould be a bleſſing, in that it ſhould become his only true Church; 3. That God would bleſs the friends and blaſt the enemies thereof; 4. That at laſt all the faithful, throughout all the Families

of

of the World, to the World's end, ſhould become the Children of *Abraham* through faith in the bleſſed Seed promiſed, who was to be made of God the Heir of all things viſible and inviſible; by which faith they ſhould be after bleſſed, as *Abraham* himſelf was before.

Now to exerciſe this faith of *Abraham*, and to make him a pattern to all poſterity, it pleaſed God to delay this promiſe for the ſpace of twenty eight years, till there was little hope in *Abraham*, and none at all in *Sarai* of obtaining any Iſſue; and yet ſtill to continue this promiſe, after divers tedious intervals, to a ſixth repetition, with ſome ſeeming variation in the terms.

Ab Anno Mun. (ut Simſon computat) 2077 ad An. Mun. 2108.

He no ſooner had received the firſt general promiſe (mentioned above*) but God drove him out of *Canaan* into *Egypt* by famine (as was touched before) where he was in fear of being killed for *Sarai's* ſake. Then he ſoon finds himſelf (after his return) engaged in a War to reſcue *Lot*, leading forth three hundred and eighteen of trained Servants, born in his own houſe; beſides ſome Auxiliaries of the *Amorites*, his

* With a ſecond aſſurance, delivered as a new promiſe, pointing out the Land in particular, which he had been commanded to ſurvey.

Gen. 13. 7

Confederates, under the Conduct of *Aner*, *Eshcol* and *Mamre*, (in whose Plain at that time *Abram* sojourned, when the tidings were brought unto him) which happened after the promise renewed the third time, in these words,

Gen. 13. 14, 15, 16. *Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, Northward, and Southward, and Eastward, and Westward. For all the Land that thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy Seed for ever. And I will make thy Seed as the dust of the earth, which cannot be numbred.* In which promise the temporal blessing is only pointed at, and that Land in particular, more amply than before.

Some considerable time seems to have passed between, e're God appeared unto *Abram* again with these comfortable

Gen. 15. 1. words, *Fear not, Abram; I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward.* *Abram* is sensible that these words relate to the three former promises; yet doubting, lest he should be mistaken in the meaning of them, he makes bold to complain unto God, That (for all his former promises) he remained Childless still, and no other Heir but *Eliezer*, his Steward (a Stranger of *Damascus*, though born in his house) appeared likely to inherit all his

his Subſtance. Which moved God to compaſſionate his Caſe, and to condeſcend to him in a fourth promiſe, that he ſhould have an Heir out of his own Loins, *And he believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteouſneſs.* Gen. 15. 6, &c. Yet after that, preſuming farther, to ask a ſign, though God vouchſafed to condeſcend to his requeſt; yet he cauſed *an horror of great darkneſs to fall upon him in his ſleep*, in (or after) which he gave him to know, that his poſterity *ſhould ſerve unto the fourth Generation, till the iniquity of the Amorites was full.* However, when this heavy agony was over, God was pleaſed to amplifie his temporal promiſe, in extending the bounds of it *from the River of Egypt, unto the great River Euphrates.*

In the mean time, *Sarai*, thinking theſe promiſes to be made to her Huſband only, and not unto her ſelf (finding how the Caſe ſtood with her) gave her *Egyptian* Handmaid *Hagar* to him, Gen. 16. 2. deſiring (at leaſt) to have ſome little part in the Land promiſed, by her own Maid; which She was not like to have by another. This was the tenth year after the promiſe at the leaſt; but as ſoon as She conceived, *Sarai* was jealous of her, Ver. 3. and

and by hard usage wrought her flight: and so gave birth unto a great mystery or two, before the Son of the Concubine could be produced.

What made *Abram* so continent hitherto, and so constant to his barren Wife *Sarai?* Did he think it unlawful to take a Concubine? And if so, why did he now? He might have had, it seems, a nearer Heir than *Eliezer* before this, and if he had gone this way; for * Concubines were accounted as Wives, only different in their Rank; and divers of their Sons did inherit among the Sons of || *Israel*, whereas Bastards only were excluded, as in the Case of † *Jephthah*. It may be *Abram* understood about Concubinacy (what our Saviour taught expressly) that, God having made Man Male and Female (one and one) from the beginning it was not so: yet that it might have been permitted unto him, as well as his Progenitors, for the supply of Issue, if it had not been to grieve his beloved Wife, and Sister-in-Law, *Sarai*. But now She puts *Hagar* to him, as if it were on purpose to restrain his choice of any other: What shall He do? Is He glad of the occasion for the further

* Ut probat Jo. Seldenus de jure, &c. libr. 5. cap. 7.

|| As *Dan* and *Naphtali*, Sons of *Bilhah*; and *Gad* and *Asher*, Sons of *Zilpah*.

† Judg. 11. 2.

Mat. 19. 4. *Alii dicunt, Filios Concubinarum (ejusdem Gentis) Heredes quidem esse, seu posse; non item ancillarum alienigenarum, ut Agar.* *Vide quæ Sarah suggerit, cap.* 21. 10.

satisfying

ſatisfying of his fleſh? Or doth he do it the better to pleaſe his Wife, even as *Adam* pleaſed *Eve*, and fell by it? Or, in fine, is not he himſelf alſo touched with a little ſpice of unbelief, in his obtemperance unto *Sarai*, as well as She?

In my opinion (howſoever ſome Expoſitors do ſeek to blanch it) the faithful *Abram* was at this time impoſed on by his Wife *Sarai*, and not excuſable of ſome infirmity in the Caſe. Though he ſtedfaſtly believed the promiſe, yet hitherto it had not been revealed to him, that it ſhould be by *Sarai*: By whom ſhould he therefore try, but by her whom *Sarai* herſelf had recommended to him? It happened therefore as a puniſhment unto *Sarai*'s diffidence, that her Handmaid *Hagar* (having conceived, and thereupon imagining that ſhe and hers ſhould go away with all at laſt) began to deſpiſe her; and to *Abram* himſelf, that he ſhould have ſuch a Lout as *Iſhmael*, by a foul *Egyptian*. Of whom yet (as a Son by Nature) he was ſo fond, that when God renewed the promiſe the fifth time of the bleſſed Seed, thirteen years after the birth of *Iſhmael*, enough to let him know that *Iſhmael* was not the Seed intended; yet he could not forbear

Gen. 16. ult. & 17. 1.

forbear to intercede for him after this manner, *O that Ishmael might live before thee*: As if *Abram* could e'en have been contented that *Ishmael* might have been the man.

Gen. 17. 18.

But it may not fare better with *Abram* than with his Forefathers, *Adam* and *Noah*, before him; for as *Adam* had *Cain* for his First-born, and *Noah* one, or other of the Aliens; so must *Abram* too (the election of Grace having seldome been observed to have followed primogeniture, while all other priviledges were annexed to it.) And as *Cain* and *Cham* were born to persecute the true Church, before it was yet in being, or but yet in its under growth; (like the *red Dragon*, in the Revelation, that *stood before the Woman that was ready to be delivered, for to devour her Child as soon as it was born*) so it was to fare with *Ishmael*, who first scoffed at the Feast of *Isaac*'s weaning, and was after planted in his own Issue upon the skirts of the Land of *Canaan*, among the *Canaanites*, to be ready to join as far as any of them, with the enemies of the Race of *Isaac*. So that God would have out of the same Loins of *Abram* both the Curse and the Blessing to have their appointed

Rev. 12. 4.

Gen. 21. 9.

appointed course, according to his own purpose, without respect unto the favour that he bore to *Abram*!

In fine, the Apostle himself warns us of a further mystery, Why *Ishmael* should come between the promise, and the fulfilling of it; and why he was to be born before *Isaac* the Heir of the promise, *Tell me, ye that desire to be under the Law, Do ye not hear the Law? For it is written, That Abraham had two Sons, the one by a Bond-maid, the other by a Free woman. But he who was of the Bond-woman was born after the flesh, but he of the Free-woman was by promise. Which things are an allegory; for these are the two Covenants, the one from the mount Sinai, which gendreth unto bondage, which is Agar: for this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth unto Jerusalem, which now is, and is in bondage with her Children. But Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is the Mother of us all*, &c. Gal. 4. 24, &c.

So that the further mystery beyond this (that *Israel* should first suffer under *Egyptian* bondage before they should be free) was this, That the Law which engendreth unto bondage must needs come first; whereof this *Hagar* and her Son *Ishmael* were a Type or Allegory. Which do

Ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· ταῦτα γάρ εἰσι δύο διαθῆκαι· μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα· ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἁγὰρ· Σινᾶ γὰρ ὄρος ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας· συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ· δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς· ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν..... 1 Cor. 10. 11.

do answer (saith the Apostle) to the unbelieving *Jerusalem*, that now is, or still remaineth fixed to the Law of Mount *Sinai*, the Law of the old Covenant or Testament. But *Sarah* and her Son *Isaac*, the Son of the promise, do answer unto that *Jerusalem*, which is from above, *viz.* the Church of the Gentiles, called by wonders from Heaven, with the descending of the Holy Ghost. Which Church is free both from all the burthen of the Law, and from all its defects, as having that joy in the Holy Ghost, which by the Law it could not possibly have attained to. Unto which Church it is further promised, that *the desolate* (which was) *should have more Children than she which hath* (the Law for) *an Husband. But what saith the Scripture? Cast out the Bond-woman and her Son*; for they cannot live together, by reason of the Spirit of persecution that is in one against the other; much less can they inherit together, that lay claim by titles so opposite to one another, as the Law and Works, the Gospel and its Grace.

Evidenter ergo Paulus pronunciat, quòd omnis, qui per fidem à Christo consequitur libertatem, Filius sit Liberæ; & hanc dicit esse sursum Hierusalem, quæ libera est, quæ est Mater omnium nostrum. Orig in Cantic. homil. 2. tom. 1. *Hi verò qui ex Gentibus crediderunt, Domino crediderunt, & non videntur sub hujus viri, i. e. sub Legis vixisse potestate, nec unquam habuisse virum Legem---- Ut Esaias declarat, dicens, Lætare sterilis, quæ non paris---- Et ostendit tam quæ habet virum, Synagogam quæ habet Legem---- Post Christum Lex evicta est.- Et tunc mortuus est Vir ejus, i. e. secundum literam Lex.* Idem in Ep. ad Rom. c. 7. l. 6. tom. 2. Frobenii.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

At the fifth renewal of the promiſe God augmented the names of Abram *and* Sarai. *And required a Covenant from* Abraham *and his Seed; the effect of which was, That he would be their God, and they ſhould be his people. Why God required ſuch a ſign as Circumciſion to be the token of the Covenant. Wherein the Gloſſes of* Philo *and* Maimonides *are detected. How Circumciſion came to be in uſe in* Egypt, *and who of them received it. The right ſtate propounded, as it was to be accommodated to the times of the Old Teſtament.*

NOW, when it pleaſed God to renew his promiſe, at the fifth courſe when *Abram* was ninety nine years old, and *Sarai* paſt Child-bearing, according unto Nature; he added an ה of augmentation in the midſt of *Abram*'s name, and in the end of *Sarai*'s; that the one ſhould thereafter be called *Abraham*, and the other *Sarah*: the reaſons whereof (to refer the reſt unto the Cabbaliſts) are given in the Text. And ſo the promiſe it ſelf is exhibited in ampler terms than

than before, and *Sarah* expresly shewed to be, in her own Person, the Woman that should conceive this Seed, and the set time, *viz.* at that *set time in the next year*, after God had done talking with *Abraham, and went up from him.* But *Abraham* is now given to understand, that according unto this Grace, he must enter into a Covenant with God for himself, and for his Seed after him; wherein God would also condescend to be one Party of the Covenant with him; which in effect was this, That God would be the God of him and his Seed, and that he should be their only God. In token of which Covenant, (as a recognizance or acknowledgment of it) God required of *Abraham*, that he and his Seed, *every male at eight days old should be circumcised in the foreskin of the flesh; and all that were born in his house, or bought with money of any stranger, which was not of his seed*; under penalty of being *cut off from his people, whosoever should break the Covenant*, in remaining uncircumcised after this. So *Abraham* began with *Ishmael*, or with himself, it is uncertain whether; but to me it seems that it was with himself. So that *Abraham's* heart being formed by faith before,

Gen. 17. 21, 22.

fore, God would alſo now have all of the ſame profeſſion to be ſigned with the ſame Sign, whereby his viſible Church and people ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from others, and Sacramentally ſanctified unto himſelf. Which myſtery is therefore next to be enquired into with the greater diligence.

It appeareth by it ſelf what circumciſion is: The only thing to be admired is, Why it ſhould pleaſe God to make an holy Ordinance of ſo obſcene a thing as Circumciſion, (*ſaltem in adultis*) at the leaſt in grown men, that were to be made Proſelytes; whom, one would think, the pain ſhould not more keep off than the ſhame of the thing, in the eyes of common men: And to what ends (eſpecially) he did require it: Which may draw in all the Queſtion here, ſo far as it doth relate unto the times of the Old Teſtament: for of the remainder (if God permit) there is more to be ſaid hereafter. And becauſe this is no Polemical Diſcourſe in its firſt intention, I ſhall endeavour to be the briefer in the ſtating of it.

This Queſtion therefore may be conſidered, Firſt, As it hath been blanched or coloured, to make it more plauſible

unto the Philosophical apprehensions of the learneder sort of Heathens. Secondly, As it was accommodated to the state of the Old Testament, from *Abraham* until *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, and the times of the *Maccabees*. Thirdly, As it was a Type, a Figure, a Mystery, or a Sacrament, referring unto Christ, and the state of his Church to come, under the ministration of the New Testament: Which are all worthy to be weighed by themselves.

In Comment. Loriniad Act. 15. 1. *Aut* Plato Philonizar, *aut* Philo Platonizat. Vulg. dict. Jos. Antiq. l. 18. cap. 10.

First, I find that *Philo* (a *Jewish* Philosopher of *Alexandria* imitating *Plato*, descended from one Class or other of the Chief Priests, and sent as an Ambassador from the Jews of that place unto the Emperour *Caius*, about seven years after the death of Christ) endeavouring, as his manner is, to apologize for *Judaism*, that it might seem the more gentile among the Gentiles, among other reasons why Circumcision was introduced by their Ancestors, and transmitted to their Posterity, speaketh thus: "The Circum-"cision of our Ancestors is derided; "but it is had in no small honour among "other Nations, especially the *E-*"*gyptians*, who excel no less in sapience "than in populacy of men. And

Herodotus

Herodotus informs us, That divers other Nations, as the *Ethiopians*, *Phœnicians*, and Inhabitants of *Colchos*, &c. derived this Custom from the *Egyptians*. *Philo* goes on, and says, "That one cause of it is, "For that Circumcision is a good pre-"vention of a foul Disease called the "Carbuncle: Whether he mean the same that was since known in these Parts by the *Neapolitan* Disease, let the learned judge; and enquire whether this Disease was known in those times and Countries when *Philo* wrote, or not; and whether this ἀκροποσθία were a preventive remedy against that Disease. "Another "reason (he says) was, That the whole "Body might become the purer; so that "the *Egyptian* Priests did add rasure to "it, over all their Bodies, that they "might come the purer to their Offi-"ces.

In Europe, ubi mores Antiquorum Ægyptiorum describit.

Now as for this, *Herodotus* (indeed) says, "That the *Egyptians* circumcised "themselves for cleanliness, making more "account of that than to be decorous. But on whatsoever trust *Herodotus* took this, it could not escape the search of the learned Father *Origen*, that this pretended cleanliness was for some reputed sanctity amongst the *Egyptians*; and that they

Virilia circumcidunt munditiæ gratiâ, pluris facientes se mundos esse quàm decoros.

they did not admit their Vulgar unto Circumciſion, but their Prieſts only, or their Soothſayers, and Students of their Hieroglyphicks, and their ſacred Sciences, as they reputed them.

Orig. in Ep. ad Rom. cap. 2. l. 2. Gelenii Edit. à Frobenio.

Apud vos (inquit) *O Gentiles, ita magni habetur Circumciſio, ut non paſſim Vulgo ignobili, ſed ſolis Sacerdotibus, aut Myſtis credatur. Nam apud Ægyptios, qui in Superſtitionibus veſtris & vetuſtiſſimi habentur, & eruditiſſimi, à quibus propè omnes reliqui Ritum ſacrorum, & Cæremoniarum mutuati ſunt, apud hos, inquam, nullus, aut Geometriæ ſtudebat, aut Aſtronomiæ..... niſi Circumciſione ſuſceptâ.... Hoc igitur apud Judæos turpe, & obſcœnum judicatis, quod apud vos ita honeſtum habetur, ac magnum?*

Now if any one ask, How come the *Egyptians*, who were fully peopled before *Abraham*'s time, and of the Offſpring of *Cham*, to have any Circumciſion at all among them? Was Circumciſion ancienter than He?

Some are of opinion that they might learn it in after-times from the *Iſhmaelites*, who when they traded into *Egypt*, ſold *Joſeph* there: But that they rather learned it from the *Iſraelites* themſelves, while *Joſeph* was in much authority there,

Gen. 37.

there, relieth on the opinion of divers ancient Fathers, and modern Interpreters; and that with reaſon, ſince *Joſeph* lived in *Egypt* about ninety three years in all, and *Iſrael* came to him thither when he was but young, *viz.* about thirty ſeven years of Age: Time enough to bring the *Egyptians* to ſome odd conformity or other!

Theodor. qu. 67. in Gen. & Perer. in c. 17.

Allen's Chain. Notes upon the 4th Period, §. 32. He lived 110. years, *Gen.* 50. 26.

To go on with *Philo* a little further: "Another reaſon (ſaith he) is for the "ſake of better propagation; for the "circumciſed Nations are ſaid to be "moſt populous. But this agrees little with a paſſage of R. *Moſes Ben Maimon.* (who hath carried away the reputation from all the modern *Jews*, and who ſeems alſo to philoſophize, for plauſibility, as *Philo* had done before him) for he ſays, That "in his judgment Circum- "ciſion was inſtituted unto this end, that "the luſt of men ſhould be thereby aba- "ted, and that Member which is the "Inſtrument thereof impaired; which "he taketh to be the principal reaſon. If impaired, never the better to propagate;

Qui floruit Cordubæ *A.D.* 1150. aut circiter.

Ut libido hominum diminuatur, & Membrum hoc, quantum fieri poteſt, ad actum iſtum debilitetur. Atque hæc eſt principalis ratio, meo quidem judicio. More Nevochim. par. 3. c. 49. Lorinus ubi ſupra.

gate; but if debilitated, one would think (as the *Rabbi* says) the less prone to lust. But this (saith *Lorinus*) is not much credited amongst us, who hear that the circumcised *Turks* and *Saracens* are more inordinate in their lust, than the generality of uncircumcised people.

Secondly, To consider therefore this Question (not as it is wire-drawn to avoid prejudice, but) as it is to be accommodated to the state and times of the Old Testament.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The true ends of Circumcision, 1. *Civil, to distinguish them from other Heathen people or corrupted Worshippers; which was a Bridle to them, as restraining them from mixt marriages and fornication, and given as a mark to make them odious to the Gentiles, and the Gentiles an abhorrency to them.* 2. *Moral, to put them in mind of purity of heart.* 3. *Spiritual and Mystical, in respect,* First, *Of* Abraham; Secondly, *Of his Seed, and* thirdly, *houshold.* 4. *Of the whole Church. Why* Ishmael *must be circumcised,* Arminius *taxed; why the Sons of* Keturah *were also to be circumcised, and in fine all the Servants.*

THE ends of Circumcision (in reality) seem to be partly Civil, whereby the *Jewish* Nation should be severed from others; partly Moral, to teach them purity; and partly Typical, or Spiritual, in respect to the holy Seed, and the Mysteries thereafter to be revealed.

1. For the first of these *Maimonides* himself striketh in with the right, im-

mediately after the words cited before, "But (saith he) there is also another "reason, *viz.* That all such as are of this "Faith, have one certain sign of conjun- "ction against any that should thrust in "amongst them: For Circumcision is "such a thing as no man will admit but "for Religion sake. And thus Circum- "cision is a Covenant [St *Paul* calls it a sign and seal of a Covenant] "which "our Father *Abraham* made, and so ma- "ny as are circumcised enter into the "same, *viz.* to believe the Unity of "God; as God saith, I will be a God "unto thee, and unto thy Seed after "thee. And this reason (saith he) is as "firm and valid as the former, and it "may be more solid.

Antiq. l. 1. c. 11 To which *Josephus* was agreed before, *viz.* That "God commanded *Abraham* "that his Posterity should be circumci- "sed in their Privities, by reason that he "would not that *Abraham*'s Posterity "should be intermingled with other Na- "tions. To which purpose St *Chryso- stom* speaketh thus, "See (saith he) the "wisdom of God: For knowing what "evil impressions the Hebrews were "like to take, he imposed the Sign of "Circumcision as a Bridle on them, lest

"they

"they ſhould mix themſelves with other "Nations; that ſo the Seed of the Pa- "triarch *Abraham* might remain unmixed "and undefiled in them, to the end that "the promiſes of God might be accom- "pliſhed in his Seed.

Signum Circumciſionis quaſi Frænum quoddam ei impoſuit, ut ſuâ Gente contenti eſſent, & ita Patriarchæ Semen inconfuſum, atque incontaminatum maneret, ut ſic in eo Dei promiſſa complevi poſſent. Homil. 39. in Gen. apud Perer.

But how a Bridle? Why, *when men began to multiply, and Daughters were born unto them, the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them Wives of all which they choſe.* Which brought in both Idolatry and all uncleanneſs, and provoked God (before) to ſend a Deluge. Now Circumciſion was not only given them as a mark, to warn them againſt the like wandring, but to ſhame them if they did; if they ſhould but offer to uncover their nakedneſs unto any Stranger: for it ſerved both to make the *Iſraelites* a ſcorn to Foreigners, and the uncircumciſed a like abhorrency unto them; that the due enmity betwixt the Seed of the Woman, and the Serpent might be the better ſtated. Gen. 6. 1, 2.

Among the *Romans*, *Judæus Apella* was a term of deriſion: Neither may there

there seem to be any greater reason why *Tacitus* should write *fœda superstitio* upon the Jewish Religion than, this; since in their worship there was nothing like to the Rites of *Bona Dea*, or *Priapus*, to be observed.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 15.

And on the other hand, it was the greatest reproach which the *Jews* thought they could cast upon other people, to call them Uncircumcised. *We cannot give our Sister* (say the Sons of *Jacob*) *to one that is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us. Let us go over unto the Garison of these uncircumcised Philistins*, said *Jonathan*: *Who is this uncircumcised Philistine?* said *David*. And it may be for this reason St *Paul* reckoneth the *Maltese* but as Barbarians, while he counts it an honour to himself that he was a free-born *Roman*. Nay, whereas the *Greeks* and *Romans* looked upon other Nations as barbarous only out of scorn, the *Jews* looked on all alike as barbarous, with the more bitterness, because they were not circumcised. But of this we shall have somewhat to observe further when we come into the Wilderness.

Gen. 34. 14.

1 Sam. 14. 6, 17, 26.

Acts 28. 1, 7, 22, 28.

2. Circumcision was also ordained for a Moral End. In which alone

Philo

Philo doth acknowledge ſome part of the truth; but in ſuch an Heatheniſh manner, that his ſimilitude is not only filthy, but as falſe, and unworthy to be conceived to have ever entred into the purer thoughts of God; but that the outward Circumciſion taught the *Iſraelites* the circumciſing of their hearts, ears and lips, the Phraſe of the Scripture doth often teach us.

Tertia (inquit) *cauſa, pars hæc Corporis circumciſa Cordis ſimilitudinem quandam habet. Utraque ſanè Gentilitati ſervit: ſiquidem ab altera Spiritus animales, ex alterâ Genitales procreantur, & profluunt. Quocirca priſci æquum cenſuerunt, potiori illi ſonti, viſibilem hanc partem* [circumſcindendo] *aſſimilare.*

3. But as for that intention of this Ordinance, which was Spiritual, Typical and Myſtical, there is much matter of diſputation involved in it, according to the ſeveral Branches or Diviſions of the Subject, as it had reſpect, *firſt*, to *Abraham*'s Perſon, *ſecondly*, His whole Seed, and *thirdly*, Family, and *fourthly*, the whole Church of *Iſrael*, to which Proſelytes were thereafter to be joined. Under ſome of which Heads it will fall in to be conſidered how Circumciſion was a Sign, and of what? How a Seal, and of what Covenant? and whether it might be impoſed?

As to *Abraham*'s Perſon in particular, one

one of the ancientest of the Fathers hath left us this to observe, *viz.* That whereas *Abraham* was old and unapt for Generation, God had appointed him this suffering in the flesh, that being the more debilitated in that part, his faith might become the stronger in God, when he should find his strength repaired above Nature. A thing to be the more regarded, because God had said to *Abraham* when he talked with him, *My Covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear unto thee, at this set time in the next year.* And lo! that very day *Abraham* circumcised himself, and so must needs be unfit for *Sarah*'s Company, till he was cured of it.

Δίδωκε τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ θεὸς σφραγίδα τῆς πίστεως, τὴν περιτομὴν τῆς ἀκροβυστίας μορίου, τοῦ διὰ μὲν τὸ γῆρας πρὸς παιδοποιΐαν, ἀχρήστου γενομένου, διὰ δὲ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ εἰς παιδοποιΐαν γεγονότος χρησίμου. J. Mart. Qu. 102. ad Orthodoxos.

Gen. 17. 21.

An vero Circumcisio debilitet partem illam ad actum generandi, aut hominum libidines aliquatenus diminuat, supra in quæsitis fuit, asserente Maimonide, & reclamante Lorino. Aquinas tamen par. 3. qu. 70. Artic. 3. *etiam hanc inter causas recenset, quare Circumcisio fieret in hâc parte, potiùs quam in fronte, aut alio quovis membro,* scil. *ad diminuendam concupiscentiam, quæ præcipuè in istis membris viget, propter abundantiam delectationis Venereorum. Et Maimonides quidem confitetur, Fœminas gaudere potiùs in circumcisis Viris; ac Medici, cum præputio, partem quandam titillationis Venereæ præscindi Viris etiam autumant. Videtur igitur, quòd Circumcisio nihil physicè operatur ad coercendam illam, quæ intus urit, libidinem, aut ad impediendum externum generandi actum. At moraliter tamen Signo est homini Circumciso, ubi se inspexerit, quo ad coercendum moneatur carnis concupiscentiam, & ad omnes delicias (ejusmodi) superfluas amputandum. Quod coincidit, ad extremum, cum secundo fine hujus instituti, quem supra attigimus.*

But

But this (in fine) was moſt pertinent to *Abraham* in particular: Whereas, at the making of the promiſe once before, *Abram had ſaid, Lord God, whereby ſhall I know?* Gen. 15.8. He hath now a Sign or a Token given him in his own Fleſh, whereby he might reſt the more aſſured (thereafter) that Chriſt ſhould be born of his Seed, according to the Fleſh, out of his Loins, and of the Womb of *Sarah*, and no other.

The wound was not ſo grievous, as the ſignification was comfortable; for herein he ſaw, That from his Loins ſhould come that Bleſſed Seed, which ſhould purge his ſoul from all corruption. Biſhop *Hall.*

Secondly, Then if we look upon Circumciſion with reſpect unto his Seed, as an Ordinance for ever, to be begun with *Iſhmael* (his Reprobate Iſſue) before the Son of Promiſe was any otherwiſe conceived: But in the faith of *Abraham* we ſhall find ſome further matter worthy to detain us in the way, even though we were in haſte before.

This is (indeed) one of the true reaſons aſſigned by the Fathers and the School-men why Circumciſion was given unto *Abraham*, as to his Perſon, *viz.* To be a Sign to him of that faith whereby he believed, and was to believe, that Chriſt ſhould be born of his Seed. But had

had this been all, it had ſufficed that *Abraham* alone had been circumciſed in his own Perſon; whereas, if it had been ſo, there could no Covenant have enſued, comprehending all his Seed, and all his houſhold, together with himſelf. The Queſtions that ariſe for the clearing of this Point are three, Firſt, Since *Iſaac*, who was to be born, was declared to be the Son of the promiſe, and *Iſhmael* not; why muſt *Iſhmael* be circumciſed into this Faith, and be comprehended in this Covenant, and that before *Iſaac* was born? Secondly, Why the Sons of *Keturah* afterwards? Thirdly, Why the Servants born in the houſe, or bought with money, who were all Aliens from the Seed of *Abraham*?

For the firſt of theſe: Muſt he that was an Enemy by Nature, in that he muſt loſe the inheritance that he ſtood ſo fair for before, and an Enemy by God's appointment; be circumciſed into a Covenant of thankfulneſs and obedience for *Iſaac*, who was to be his Supplanter, as much as *Jacob* (after) was of *Eſau*?

We muſt take all together: The whole promiſe made to *Abram* (at the very firſt) amounted unto thus much,

I will

I will bleſs thee, and make thy name great, Gen. 12.
and thou ſhalt be a bleſſing; and I will bleſs 2, 3.
them that bleſs thee, and in thee ſhall all families of the earth be bleſſed. And again it is ſaid, not only that *Abram ſhould become a great and mighty Nation,* but that Chap. 18. 18, 19. & 22. 18.
all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed in him. And that he ſhould command his Children and his houſhold after him, to keep the way of the Lord, that the Lord might bring upon Abraham that which he had ſpoken of him. Iſhmael had been hitherto brought up in his Fathers houſe, (to the twelfth year of his Age) and taught to ſacrifice, which he underſtood no more than Circumciſion; but he muſt ſubmit to both. He was ſo far from being excluded from the ſtate of Grace, or the hope of Glory, that he was a principal Member of the viſible Church, before the Son of promiſe was conceived. Neither was he circumciſed into the bleſſings of *Iſaac*'s houſe in particular, but of his Father *Abraham*'s, the Father of the Nations to deſcend by promiſe from *Iſhmael*, and of all the faithful; and into him that was the utmoſt Object of all faith, *the deſire of all nations*: Hag. 2. 7.
which whoſoever ſhould bleſs, he ſhould be bleſſed. It was not ſufficient therefore

fore that only the very promised Seed should be circumcised, for *Isaac* himself did not afterwards know whether his Son *Esau*, or his Son *Jacob* should be the man, till he was as blind with Age as he was with fondness of his elder Son. I am not of the mind of *Arminius*, that *Ishmael*, or *Esau*, though Types of rejection from the temporal promise, annexed unto *Isaac*, were not also examples of a real reprobation. But if the priviledges of Nature, or of the outward pale of the Church, had been of any regard in the Point of Election, the elder surely had not been rejected.

Ishmael & Isaac, Esau & Jacob non in sese, sed ut Typi, illis quos Apostolus adfert locis, sunt considerandi... Quod monto ne quis necessum esse putet, ut is qui repræsentat filios carnis, sit ipse filius carnis ejusdem definitionis modo. in cap. 9. ad Rom. v. 9, 10.

Yet it cannot be said but that the house of *Abraham* was enough to season both the Mother and the Son with some piety, as appears by divers passages of *Hagar*, and by *Ishmael*'s returning, after he had been turned out of doors, to assist *Isaac* in the Burial of his Father. However, as he had been a Scoffer in his own Person, so he continued to be a Persecutor in his Posterity, which instead of the blessing inherited the curse, which was opposed to it, *viz. I will curse him*

Gen. 25.9.

Gen. 12.3.

him that curseth thee. We read of no good man of his descent at all, so far as I remember.

Secondly, But for the Sons of *Keturah*, I know not whether any Persecutors descended from them, or no, unless the *Midianites*; out of some of which (however) the Subjects of *Jethro*, and the *Kenites* befriended *Israel*, and became Partakers of his Blessing. So that their Circumcision served to carry the true worship of God abroad into remoter Parts, when *Abraham* gave them gifts, and sent them farther off from *Isaac*. Of the Race of *Edom*, or as bad, we are sure enough that *Job* descended, and his zealous friends. And that our Lord himself, according to the flesh, drew a vein of his bloud from humble *Ruth*, a *Moabitish* Woman, whose Nation was abominable for its incestuous Original. "The chaste Bed of holy Parents hath sometimes bred a monstrous "Generation; and contrarily, God "hath raised sometimes an holy Seed "from the drunken Bed of incest or fornication.

Gen. 25. 6. Job 1. 1.

Bishop *Hall's* Contemplation upon *Lot* and *Sodom*.

But, as *Bertram* does observe, the

Bertr. cap. 2. *Adam*, inquit, *etiam tempore Moſis, illuxiſſe alibi quàm in poſteris Jacobi vera Religionis aliqua veſtigia, &c.*

knowledge of God by such means came to be propagated far, in other parts, even in the times of *Moses*. And although *Cunæus* doth collect (in favour, it may be, of some opinion) that the Church of old was still restrained unto one Family, as from *Adam* to *Seth*, and so to *Noah*, and to *Sem* alone of his, and to *Abram* alone of his, and to *Isaac* alone of his line; and that God despised all other Nations as prophane, until the coming of Christ; yet it seems to me, that although many Families and Nations did not escape corruption, yet some true Worshippers there were here and there, without those houses, and without that Nation. But the first Church was the Metropolis (only) of all the rest.

Cujus Familia Ecclesiæ nomen atque dignitatem ineffabili ratione, velut per successionem, sibi vindicavit. Cæteræ Gentes, tanquam prophanæ, spretæ à Numine, posthabitæque sunt donec Messias terrarum orbem ingressus, intergerinum disjecit parietem, &c. de Rep. Hebr. l. 3. c. 2. It may be noted (besides) that after Circumcision *Salah* and *Sem* survived as true Worshippers, in other places, and *Eber* longer than *Abraham* himself. *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 13. *cap.* 17.

Thirdly, And now we may perceive the reason why *Abram*'s Servants also must be circumcised, to the solution of the Question (with favour) against *Pererius*, That Circumcision was to be imposed, since it was not free for Servants, bought

bought with *Abram's* money, to obtain liberty upon the pretence that they would not be circumciſed. Nor was ever *Hyrcanus* blamed in later times for compelling the *Edomites*, when he had ſubdued them, to be circumciſed, but commended rather. The reaſon of their Circumciſion (beſides the ſhare which they had in the deſire of all Nations) was partly to propagate the knowledge of God, if they went off; and partly to conſtitute and fortifie the Body of the Church, if they continued in the Tents of *Abraham*. Such was the Church which it pleaſed God to form to himſelf from the beginning; ſuch the Materials of it! And how many of theſe had true Grace in their hearts, beſides *Abraham* himſelf, and his Wife *Sarah*, and (it may be) his Steward *Eliezer*, before *Iſaac* was born; I leave the Brethren that are moſt concerned to enquire. But that part of this Queſtion which relateth to the whole Church of the Old Teſtament with reference, as a ſeal unto ſome Covenant (that we may not be delayed in our progreſs here) will fall in, in a proper place in order.

CHAP. XVII.

Abraham's *obedience so acceptable unto God, that he maketh himself known to him in a more familiar way than ever before. That* Abraham *knew nothing to the contrary why there might not be more righteous people in* Sodom *than his Brother* Lot. *His various peregrinations are recounted, and further Questions propounded to be enquired into.*

SUCH hath been the acceptation of a liberal obedience in the hearts of generous Princes, both of ancient and later times, that they have not thought much to go out of their way, and to come *incogniti* to visit one or other of their meaner Subjects whom they have known by such a Character: In the like manner, after *Abraham* had circumcised all his Males, it pleased God, not to defer, as in former times, but, to make haste to come and see him (*incognito*, but) in a more familiar manner than before, to make the last promise, or to confirm all the former to him, to be surely made good to him within the set time mentioned before; so that to keep reckoning,

Christo, quasi per præludia, incarnationem suam præveniente, ut è patribus nonnulli nobis suggessêre.

reckoning, we may account it to have been within a month or two after the last appearance. Gen. 18. 20.

To this was added the great favour of Almighty God (for when did he ever do so by any other mortal man?) to commune with *Abraham* about the destruction of *Sodom*, and to hearken to his intercession: In which it appeareth, that *Abraham* thought no other but that there might be many righteous persons there (whom God would not destroy with the wicked) besides his Brother *Lot*.

Some are of opinion that *Abram* remained five years at *Charran* of the *Chaldees* (or that part of it to which *Mesopotamia* may be reckoned) after he had received the first promise. And then (upon the death of his Father *Terah*, who as St *Chrysostom* observes, though an Idolater, had a fatherly affection for his Children) he came as far as *Sichem* in the Land of *Canaan*, in the seventy fifth year of his Age; and there he received the second promise, and built an Altar to the Lord for remembrance; because the Lord had there appeared

Acts 7. 2.

Ὁ θεὸς προσέταξε τῷ Ἀβραὰμ μεταναστῆσαι····· καὶ τοῦτο γνοὺς ὁ Θαῤῥᾶ, εἰ καὶ ἄπιστος ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν παῖδα φίλτρου, κοινωνῆσαι αὐτῷ κατεδέξατο τῆς ἀποδημίας. Hom. 31. in Gen.

Gen. 12. 6, 7.

peared to him. It is only said that *he came unto the place of Sichem, unto the Plain of Moreh. And that the Canaanite was then in the Land.* So that it seems not likely to me that he entred into the City at all, whether it were a walled City (as is most probable, it being a great and ancient one) or only a *City of Streets*, as we find such accounted in the number, before the Nations were repleniſhed. But he removed, journeying ſouthwards, and about *Luz* or *Bethel* (which was after called ſo by *Jacob*) he built another Altar for conſtant worſhip, and there *he called on the name of the Lord.*

Gen. 28. 19. Gen. 12. 8.

But the very next year (as it may ſeem) he was driven into *Egypt* by famine, and the year after that returned again to the place, where he had erected his ſecond Altar: and here he remained (if conjecture fail not) about a year or two; when, obeying the command of God, he went about ſurveying the Land of promiſe, and came the third year to the Plain of *Mamre* (about *Hebron*, which was after called ſo) and there built another Altar to the Lord, *viz.* as a place where he deſigned ſome reſidence, if it ſhould pleaſe God to permit him. And hereabouts he continued eighteen

An. Mund. 2085. ante Chr. 1918. ſecundum ſuppurationem Noſtratis Simſon. Gen. 13.

eighteen years, even till he had received the last promise; and then he *journeyed again toward the South Country*, and dwelt between *Cadesh* and *Shur*, and sojourned in *Gerar*, where he made a Covenant, by mutual Oath, with *Abimelech*, a King of the *Philistines*, at *Beersheba*. And *Abraham planted a Grove in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God. And he sojourned in the Philistines Land many days.* But by the death of *Sarah in Kiriath-arba, which is Hebron in the Land of Canaan*, we may learn that though the Son of Promise was born among the *Philistines*, yet *Abraham* returned at the last to *Hebron*, where he had his place of worship, among the *Hittites*. And there he had his last blessing, of encrease by *Keturah*, * according to the fulness of the promise of God, to the rise of many Nations from him. And there he left in his Tents *Isaac* and *Jacob*, *Heirs of the same promise with himself*, having lived a hundred and seventy five years (whereof one hundred hereabout) and leaving *Isaac* about seventy years of Age, and his Son *Jacob* fifteen. And his Sons *Isaac* and *Ishmael* buried him with *Sarah*

Gen. 20. 1, &c.

Ch. 21. 27, 33.

Ch. 23. 1.

* *Quæ utrum eadem fuerit cum Hagare, consulatur* Simsonius ad A. M. 2181. & Jo. Seld. de jur. &c. l. 5. c. 7. Heb. 11.

Gen. 23. 9.

in the Cave of Machpelah. So that all the expeditions of *Abraham* were 1. from the remoter parts of *Chaldea* unto *Charran*; from thence, 2. unto *Sichem*; from thence, 3. to *Bethel*; from thence, 4. to *Egypt*; from thence, 5. back again to *Bethel*; from thence, 6. to the Plain of *Mamre* (which is *Hebron* or *Kiriath-arba*;) from thence, 7. to the Parts of *Gerar*; and from thence, 8. back again to *Hebron* of the Sons of *Heth.*

That which remaineth to be enquired, is, *first*, What use *Abraham* made of his Altars; *secondly*, How he governed his own Hoard; *thirdly*, How he lived amongst the *Canaanites* and *Philistines*; *fourthly*, In what estate he left his whole Posterity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Letters and Writing (most probably) from Adam, *as also Altars. Of* Cain *and* Abel, *and the difference of Sacrifices; and of theirs in particular. Whether they offered in one place; and whether* Adam *offered for them, or they for themselves: Why* Abel *more accepted, and how* Cain *knew it.*

THough it hath been thought by many (studious of the Pagan Antiquities, and too much addicted to credit them) that the Patriarchs before the Floud delivered unto their Posterities all the learning which they had, by Oral Tradition only; and that Writing was first expressed by certain Hieroglyphicks, and after Letters formed by the cunning of the *Phœnicians*, or the *Greeks*; yet I must confess I take it to be but an heathenish conceit, and not fit to be imagined, that the Church of God did ever want its Scriptures, out of

Litteras semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse: sed alii apud Ægyptios à Mercurio, ut Gellius; alii apud Syros repertas volunt. Unde, in Græciam intulisse Cadmum 16. *numero.* Plin. lib. 7. Nat. Hist. c. 56. *Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.* Lucan. lib. 3. v. 220. *Vidisti quid de hoc commentitio Oraculo disserit* P. Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. lib. 3. cap. 1. Et quid de literis Sr *Walter Raleigh*, lib. 1. part. 1. cap. 7. §. 10. † 4. ut & ante nos sensit D. Augustin.

which

which by Divine Instinct *Moses* drew the Abstract of the things that were before his time. Which it pleased God to allow only, as to be preserved unto after Ages, whatsoever is reported about a certain Prophecy of *Enoch*, to which St *Jude* is conceived to refer: But there is also reference in other places unto certain current Traditions among the Jews. It is as easie for me to believe that our Father *Adam* could as well write and read, (and teach his Children so to do) as speak, and set the names on every Creature. Should we think it to be too hard for him, or that he had not time enough in the nine hundred and thirty years, that he lived, to accomplish it? I cannot so much as think, that the Church (or the World either) could want the use of Letters so long as * *Seth*, (whose engraven Pillars are spoken of) much less as *Enoch*, who was born so long after him, though both in the life of *Adam* ||.

Jude 14, 15.

* Jos. Ant. lib. 1. cap. 3. *Seth natus est A. M.* 130. *Enoch* 622 *secund.* Allen, &c.

|| *Adam vero fuit omnium hominum (excepto* Θεανθρώπῳ*) sapientissimus: sicus quàm sentiunt Hebræi, qui more suo nugantes, fingunt Adamum, & Evam creatos fuisse (tanquam infantes) simplicissimos.* Est. in l. 2. sent. dist. 23. §. 3.

The like conceit I must needs retain concerning Altars. When God had vouchsafed to reveal unto *Adam* this Grace and Mystery,

Mystery, That whereas he had incurred the guilt of sin, and the punishment of death by his transgression, an atonement should be accepted for him, through the shedding of the bloud of certain clean Beasts, (which are thought to have been revealed to him, together with the first Notion of Sacrifice it self) with respect to the Seed of the Woman, promised in some uncertain time to come; it was so natural to him to erect an Altar for Sacrifice and Oblations, that he could not conveniently do any otherwise, any more than men can eat without a Table: Yet that a standing Altar was not always necessary, appears by *Abraham*'s building one in haste, when he was tempted to sacrifice his only Son *Isaac*. How *Cain* and *Abel* did (to begin from thence) may worthily be doubted, as it is. But to set it free as much as may be, we must know, That whereas not only death eternal, but also temporal, with many calamities, besides the Curse of the Earth, were the consequents of sin; not only bloody Sacrifices (or whole Burnt * Offerings, as they knew no other before *Moses*) were to be offered for the expiation of sin; but also other Offerings, in acknowledgment

Bert. ubi supra.

Gen. 22. 9.

* *Totum Animal pro victimâ oblatum, excoriatum tamen ex more, & dissectum, concremandum erat.* Seld. de jure l. 3. c. 8.

knowledgment of the Dominion of the supreme Majesty over all; in way of thankfulness for plenty and prosperity; in way of supplication for encrease and blessings; in way of vowing and devoting themselves, and the Goods which they enjoyed, unto God's service in some acceptable manner.

The Queries are, (1.) Whether *Cain* and *Abel* offered apart, or in one place? (2.) Whether they offered, as for themselves so, by themselves, or whether they brought them to their Father *Adam*, as the only High-Priest then on Earth, and the first Prophet, to offer for them? (3.) How the difference stood or appeared in respect of what they offered, and how they were accepted?

Ut Hebræorum primogeniti homines essent Deo sacri, nec ætatis suæ Prærogativâ, nec jure ad Sacerdotium factum est, sed salute sibi præstitâ dum primogeniti Ægyptiorum subito excidio interirent, Numb. 3. 13. & 24. 5. *unde postea redimendi,* Numb. 18. 10. *Neque Levitæ Sacerdotes erant, sed eorum Ministri.... Ego in antiquissimis seculis ita comparatum fuisse judico, ut in sacris pro se uno factis, sibi quisque suus Sacerdos esset. Nam Cainus & Abel, sua ipsi sacra per se Deo offerebant... Qui autem Cainum & Abelem sacra Deo destinata ad Adamum adduxisse judicant, hi cur sic judicent, nihil afferunt. In sacris autem pro familiâ quâvis destinatis nihil dubium quin ipse Paterfamilias Sacerdotii obeundi jus habuerit. Eoque jure Noa,* Gen. 8. 20. & Jobus c. 1. 5. *pro se, suisque immolabant.* Outr. lib. 1. cap. 4. Sect. 3.

For the first: No doubt, while they were young, and lived in their Fathers house (which necessity would teach him to

to build, as well as to make himſelf Cloaths) but that *Adam* offered for himſelf and all his Children; but when they were able to go abroad, and ſet up a Tent of their own, to be filled with their younger Brethren and Siſters, and their Children; then of common Right, *Paterfamilias*, the head of the houſe, was their Prieſt, and in Caſe he ſacrificed, all the houſhold were ſufficiently conſecrated to aſſiſt him by an implicite Ordinance of God, becauſe that which he required could not otherwiſe be done.

Some are of opinion, that *Adam* appointed a certain place of meeting for Divine Offices for all his Children; where (moſt likely) he erected an Altar; which of old did (as it were) conſtitute a Temple *ſub dio*: and that continued ſome Ages, both amongſt the people of God, and the Heathen. There he inſtructed them, there he prayed and offered up praiſes unto God (more eſpecially on the Sabbath-Day) and did all, in ſubſtance, that belonged unto Sacrifices ever after. But againſt this that paſſage ſeems to make, that when God demanded of *Cain*, *Where is Abel thy Brother?* He replyed, *I know not: Am I my Brothers*

(Bert. ſecutus (ut videtur) Ab. Ezram) *Pro tis autem Cœtibus, qui variis ex familiis conſtabant, mos erat, ut cujuſque princeps (ſi modo ipſi viſum eſſet) publica Deo ſacra faceret.* Ibid.

Gen. 4. 9.

Brothers Keeper? As if God knew they did not use to meet every Day or every Week together. So that possibly they might offer in divers places.

(2.) It might so happen that one or other of them might be absent; and yet their Father (who led a careful and penitential life) might offer for which of his Sons came; as *Job* did for all his Sons when they were absent. Yet I know nothing to the contrary, but that *Cain* and *Abel*, when they had housholds of their own, might have Altars so too, the mystery of *oneness* of Altars being not as yet revealed.

Job 1. 5.

(3.) For the last Query, Why *Cain*'s Sacrifice should not be accepted so well as *Abel*'s; *Josephus* gives us this reason, Because *Cain*, being covetous, offered only that which he had forcibly extorted (as it were) from Nature by the Plow, whereas *Abel* offered things produced of themselves. The *Rabbi's* tell other Dreams relating to the wickedness of the Person, and the niggardliness of his Oblations. But a clearer reason is hinted in the Text it self, when it is said, That *Cain brought* only *of the fouits*

Jos. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 3. ὁ Θεὸς δὲ ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἥδεται τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῖς αὐτομάτοις, καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γεγονόσιν τιμώμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς κατ' ὀπίνοιαν ἀνθρώπου πλεονέκτου καὶ βίαν πεφυκόσι.

Ut videre est in Seldeno loco citat. p. 18.

fruits of the ground, which was no expiatory Sacrifice for ſin, but a ſuperfluous Oblation (it may be) of more ſplendid things than *Abel*; whereas St *Paul* aſſures us, that *without ſhedding of blood, there is no remiſſion for ſin*: Which things have been touched before. Heb. 9. 22.

But how ſhould theſe know the difference of their acceptations? If they came to their Father *Adam*, and his Altar, by him; who was both a Prieſt and a Prophet, and though not in former favour, yet not wholly left by God, or deprived of all his manifeſtations to him: But if they ſacrificed otherwiſe, God did not leave himſelf without witneſs, till he raiſed up ſufficient Seers to adviſe them that had to do with him. And thus the worſhip of God came to be tranſmitted unto *Abraham*, unleſs any ſmall circumſtances might be added to his worſhip, after God had given certain Precepts unto *Noah*, with a kind of Covenant, by the token of the Rainbow. Gen. 8. 20. Where we read of the

firſt Altar, built by *Noah*, to offer ſome of every ſort of clean Beaſts and Fowls; though (we do not doubt but) multitude of Idol-Altars (imitating the true) had provoked God to drown the World before——

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Altars of Monument for mercies and deliverances. Of Tokens for a Testimony or a Covenant betwixt God and man, and man and man. Of service for adoration, vows and sacrifices. Of the matter and form of them. Of those which Abraham *made at* Sichem, Mamre *and* Beersheba, *with his Grove there, which was drawn into an ill example, and the like afterwards forbidden.*

WE read, first, of Altars of Monument and Testimony (which were usually magnificent:) Secondly, Of Altars for Burnt-Sacrifice, Meat and Drink-Offerings and Peace-Offerings and the like; and thirdly, Of an Altar of incense, in after-times, all opposed to the Idolatry of the Heathen.

Of the two first (which belong only unto this place) we may consider the matter and the form. For the matter, they were simple, of Earth or Stone, (and not of Brass, as they after were in setled times) as we may learn by the first Institutes that were delivered by *Moses*,

Moſes, who according to God's direction digeſted many things into Law and Rule, which were but only of good example before. *An Altar of Earth* (ſaith he) *ſhalt thou make unto me, and ſhalt ſacrifice thereon thy Burnt-offerings, and thy Peace-offerings, thy Sheep and thine Oxen: In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bleſs thee. And if thou wilt make me an Altar of Stone, thou ſhalt not build it of hewn Stone *: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou haſt polluted it.* Exod. 20. 24, 25. & Deut. 27. 5, 6, 7.

* The Patriarchs had no time for that, nor, it may be, ready Work-men; poſſibly by Providence, as the next words may ſhew the reaſon.

For the form therefore, if it was for remembrance only, as for thankſgiving, and a glory; they made it greater, or it may be neater; but yet ſo, that it might be fit to be uſed as an Altar for ſervice upon all occaſions. Let us ſee what examples we have of any of theſe, ſince it may be queſtioned whether they did not more hurt than good (as in proceſs of time it happened unto *Moſes*'s Brazen Serpent) for the Heathen finding them, might either demoliſh them in revenge, (becauſe the *Iſraelites* were commanded to aboliſh theirs) or elſe prophane them by ſome new Dedica- Exod. 34. 13. & Deut. 7, 5--&c. 12. 3.

tion or Consecration to an Idol; and so offer Sacrifices, even unto Devils, upon the same Altars; or else they might become occasions of division among themselves, which we are about to note hereafter.

It was in use from ancient times, as from *Seth*'s Pillars (if there be any truth in that) and from the Tower of *Babel*, for men to raise some Structure or another, in remembrance of their atchievements or fortunes: And (it seems) that the true Worshippers delighted rather in erecting Altars, than any other Fabricks: But if they were not intended directly for the service of sacrificing, why should they do so?

I find therefore, as I hinted, that before the Law, Altars were erected for a threefold end. First, For Monuments of thankfulness for some mercy or deliverance; Secondly, For tokens of a Covenant, (or for a Testimony) whether betwixt God and man, or betwixt man and man; Thirdly, For ordinary resort to the whole acceptable service of God, not only on their Sabbaths, but on every Day of the Week, and on all occasions: All of these pious, and allowed by God; not only before the Law, but

but till the Temple was built; and (upon ſome occaſions) even after that.

First, We find of *Abram*, that after God had appeared to him in the Land of *Canaan*, and had aſſured him that that was the Land which he would give unto his Seed; that *he built an Altar upon the Plain of Moreh, near unto the place of Sichem:* But that he forthwith *removed thence, unto a Mountain on the Eaſt of Bethel*, (called ſo proleptically, ſince *Jacob* was the firſt that named it ſo, that is, the Houſe of God; which for divers mercies and manifeſtations of God became a place famous to poſterity) *and pitched his Tent, and there he built an Altar unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord:* as if he had not done ſo at the Altar before, but had only ſet it up as a Monument of thankſgiving unto God, who had ſo graciouſly appeared to him near *Sichem*. Which Notion is favoured the more by this circumſtance, that when *Abram* returned from *Egypt*, he repaired unto the place betwixt *Bethel and Hai, where his Tent had been at the beginning, and there called on the name of the Lord*; returning not to the Altar at *Sichem* at all, by any thing that we can find. Neither might

Gen. 12. 7, 8.

Ch. 13. 3, 4.

it ſeem lawful or expedient for him to demoliſh any Altar of thankſgiving, or any other, that by erection he had conſecrated and dedicated unto God, for fear leſt the Heathen ſhould prophane them, who might be likelier to ſleight them, as having Altars enough of their own, called by the names of one or other of their Idols. As the true Worſhippers did alſo call the Altars which they erected by ſome ſpecial name, for a Memorial.

Gen. 13. 18.

Gen. 14. 24.

And when *Abram* removed from thence to the Plain of *Mamre*, (ſo called from *Mamre* the Occupant and Colegue of *Abram*) he built another Altar (as a place where he might likely ſpend ſome time of ſojourning) and there alſo *he called on the name of the Lord*; that is, inſtructed all his people, offered up prayers, thankſgivings, ſacrifices and ſuch Oblations or Peace-offerings, as God had ſo far directed him, or any of the Patriarchs before.

Cùm cultus interior ſit, qui conſiſtit in conjunctione ad Deum, ſummâque ejus reverentiâ per intellectum & affectum: exterior autem, qui in precibus & laudibus effundendis, Adorationibus, Sacrificiis, Oblationibus cernitur, neque hic ſine illo vitè exhiberi poſſit; conſequitur ad utrumque obligatos etiam Proſelytos Domicilii, & qui eorum inſtar ſuêre (adulti ſcil. nec rationis expertes; & pro rerum ſuarum ſive copia, ſive inopia) cenſuiſſe Ebræos. Seld. lib. 3. cap. 8. ſupra citat.

But in fine, when *Abraham* came into the Country of the *Philiſtines*, (where *Iſaac*

Iſaac the Son of the Promiſe was born, as God appointed it) and was entred into a League with *Abimelech*, by exchanging of Preſents on either hand, ſo that *Abraham* took himſelf to be ſetled for a time, *He planted a Grove in Beerſheba, and called there on the name of the Lord the everlaſting God* *. Which Grove, it ſeems to me, *Abraham* only made for ſhelter, (ſince he and his lived only in Tents) againſt the heats and wets, that his Altar and place of Worſhip might be the better defended. But it came indeed to be drawn afterwards into ill example, and to be expreſly forbidden; as the offering of Children unto *Molech*, upon pretence of imitating the ſame *Abraham*'s obedience in the Offering up of his Son *Iſaac*. Even ſo did the Well and Mount at which *Jacob* worſhipped, (in his time) prove a pretence to the *Samaritans* to oppoſe the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. But I will leave the Altars ſtanding in this imperfect ſtate, till I turn this way again, which I foreſee will happen ſpeedily.

Quum Abrahamus ad Querctum Mamræ conſedisſet, ibi Sacrarium & Altare quoddam ordinariis familiæ ſuæ cœtibus deſtinavit. Sacrificavit, Gen. 15. 9, &c. *Docuit*, Gen. 18. 19. ---*Propheta dicitur*, Gen. 20. 7. *Ipſe Domi familiæ ſuæ Sacerdos erat; & ubi Altaria texit, Dei nomen invocavit*, i. e. *univerſum Dei cultum celebravit, qui nomine orationis, invocationis & adorationis variè nuncupatur.* Bertr.

* Gen. 21. 33.

Deut. 12. 2, 3. Levit. 18. 21. John 4. 12, 20.

CHAP. XX.

Abraham *had many Tents, and, as a Prince, had a Despotick Power over them, that (through all their Tents) were born in his house. That the Patriarchs occupied much Land, and were no burthen, but a profit to the Countries wherein they sojourned,* viz. *Freely in the wasts, where the Pasture was; and by Purchase, Covenant and Compromise, when they pitched near to any great City, or populous place. Of* Abraham's *purchase of a Field, and* Jacob's *of a parcel of one.*

NOW whereas we read that *Abraham* and, after him, *Isaac* and *Jacob pitched their Tent*, in the singular number; it may seem that this is not to be restrained more than needs, but to be extended so as the circumstances do direct us. The enquiring into which will lead us to consider and perceive what manner of temporal or spiritual lives they enjoyed in their respective pilgrimages; God having so provided for the honour of his Church, that he would not therewithal afford them all kind

And Lot also had Flocks and Herds and Tents, (in the Plural Number) Gen. 13.5.

kind of temporal enlargements or accommodations; nor leave them (long) in any uncomfortable ſtate.

Saint *Paul* tells us, that *by faith Abraham ſojourned in the land of promiſe, as in a ſtrange Countrey, dwelling in Tabernacles* (in the Plural Number) *with Iſaac and Jacob, the Heirs with him of the ſame promiſe.* By which we may collect that the Tents were many, and *Abraham*'s only like a *Prætorium* to the reſt. Out of which *Abraham* drew three hundred and eighteen men, to purſue the Seizers on his Nephew *Lot*, (who was permitted to be taken, that *Abraham* might redeem *Lot*, and *Melchizedech* might thereupon bleſs *Abram*) which were all ſaid to have been *born in his own houſe.* Certes, if all in one Tent (and you cannot imagine that they all lodged continually under the Cope of Heaven) it muſt have been a very large one; but if it had been ſo, he would not have entertained three Angels (whom he took to be but Strangers) under a Tree, without the doors.

Heb. 11. 9.

Gen. 14. 14.

Gen. 18. 4, 5, 6.

As for his power over all theſe, it was abſolutely Deſpotical, as the Princes round about him. He taught them the Laws that they were to obey; and he

might punish as he thought fit, without account to any other Prince, any more than the Prince to him, whosoever he was. Which is sufficiently declared by *Bertram* in the same Chapter, cited more than once before.

And if we think fit (in the next place) to consider what extent of Grounds these Sojourners might occupy, and by what Right, since they were but Strangers in the places where their Dwellings or their Changes were, it may dart a little further light unto us.

It cannot be doubted, but *Abraham* and his Herdsmen, with their several Tents and Families, took up much Ground, because that *Lot* and He were forced to part, since *the Land was not a-*
13.6. *ble to bear them, that they might dwell together, because that both their substance was exceeding great*; which was in Flocks of Sheep and Goats, and in Herds of other Cattel, as Bullocks, Horses, Camels, Asses, Mules, and such other Breed as those Countries did afford.

Now although it be said, that *the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the Land*; yet *Abram* said unto *Lot*, *Is not the whole Land before thee? If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go*

to

to the right. And Lot beheld the Plain of Jordan, that it was well watered, and he dwelt in the Cities of the Plain, and pitched his Tent towards Sodom: But Abram dwelt in the Land of Canaan. Nor could *Isaac* and *Jacob* afterwards when the Stock was much encreased, and the Families (it is likely) more, but occupy Land accordingly.

The Question is, *Quo jure*, by what Right these Strangers took up so much Ground in a strange Countrey, and escaped wars about Plats, wherein they sate down, and (in all probability) entrenched themselves, for the better security; and about the Tracts round about them, which they filled with their Herds and Flocks.

We must remember (to set us right here) that from the Flood to the promise made to *Abram*, there is but about four hundred and twenty two years reckoned, which is too little to imagine all places to be repleniſh'd in; so that while the Inhabitants that were, lived in walled Towns for safety; and studied Arts and Sciences (to which the *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* ever were addicted) and were employed in the cultivating of the nearer

nearer Fields, and planting of their Vineyards, the coming of these Strangers with their Stocks, and pitching about them, (like a standing Fair or moveable City) brought both Trade and plenty to them, while the waste Grounds might be left at large, without prejudice unto any Native of the Country; which brought also encrease of Gold and Silver to the Patriarchs.

As for *Abraham* himself, he kept at a distance from all the idolatrous Cities, and entred not at all into them without some great occasion, as Famine and Distress once or twice, and to treat with the men of *Kiriah-arba* for a Burying-place for *Sarah*. But *Lot* being indiscreetly mingled amongst the men of *Sodom*, happened once to be taken captive amongst them by the four Kings, and after hardly escaped from being destroyed with them.

Gen. 12. 16. & 20. 1. & 23. 3. Ch. 13. 12. & 14. 16. & 19. 1.

And if it ever fell to their conveniency to pitch nearer to any City, or better peopled place, so that there might be any danger of interfering with them. Then they either made some Purchase, or some Confederacy, or Compromise, with the Princes or people there, to preserve

ſerve an inviolable peace amongſt them. And when *Abraham* was about *Gerar*, he did all at once.

For when *Abimelech* and his Chief Captain *Phichol* obſerved that *Abraham* grew great, they thought it good policy to take caution of him by a ſolemn League, made by Oath, That *he ſhould not thereafter deal falſly by Abimelech, or his Son, or Son's Son; but according to the kindneſs that he had found in the Land, wherein he had ſo long ſojourned. And Abraham ſware, and both of them made a Covenant.* At the making whereof, *Abraham* did reprove or gently contend with *Abimelech, about a Well of water which Abimelech's Servants had violently taken away from his, though Abraham himſelf had digged it.* And he made a Preſent to *Abimelech*, that he might enjoy the better Right to it: But of the Land about, there was no Queſtion made between them. However, when *Abraham* planted a Grove about the Well, and ſet up an Altar there, ſojourning many days in the Land of the Philiſtines, no doubt he became a Purchaſer; at leaſt of ſome Tenant-right or other for the time: both the Grove and Gen. 21. 22.

and the Well being to rest to him and his, as their propriety *.

* In the Plain of *Mamre*, *Abraham* had also such a Confederacy, that he got *Mamre* himself, with *Aner* and *Eshcol*, to join with him in the pursuit of the four victorious Kings; which was a bold and brave attempt of theirs. *Gen.* 14. 13, 24.

And when *Abraham* bought the Field and Cave of *Machpelah*, it may seem that he intended to make no other use of it, but for a Burying-place, though it cost him four hundred Shekels of Silver, of currant Money with the Merchant, which amounts to about an hundred Dollars, as *Junius* doth account, (which before Navigation came to an height, was no inconsiderable Summ;) but as others, it might amount to two hundred and fifty Crowns.

Jun. in not. *A Shekel of Silver, argenteus, 2ˢ 6ᵈ.* Matth. 26. 15.

Once more, (and no more that I can find) When *Jacob came to Shalem a City of Shechem, which is in the Land of Canaan, when he came from Padan Aram, and pitched his Tent before the City; he bought a parcel of a Field, where he had spread his Tent, of Hamar Shechem's Father, for a hundred pieces of money. And he erected there an Altar, and called it El-Elohe-Israel*, that is, God, the God of *Israel*. So that his Purchase seems to have

Gen. 33. 18.

have been partly to prevent exceptions, in that he had pitched his Tent upon part of *Hamar*'s Patrimony, and partly, that he might erect his Altar of Worſhip in the moſt convenient place, where-ever the other Tents were pitched, for the benefit of the Drove. The Pur-chaſe it ſelf, as the price, was but ſmall, *a parcel of a Field.* But why? Muſt not he, as well as his Grandfather *Abra-ham*, leave it all behind him, at the next remove?

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Why the Patriarchs made it their firſt Work to erect Altars whereever they came. What their outward form of Worſhip was. Of the reſtraints and incommodities of the Patriarchs, as living in Tents, frugality of Diet, paucity of entertainments, want of Fields, Gardens, Vineyards; whereby being hindred from ſowing for themſelves, they were oft diſtreſſed through Famine, if there was any ſcarcity abroad.

HItherto we have ſeen ſomewhat of the beſt of the Patriarchs ſtate, as, *viz.* that they had Gold and Silver and Stock and a great Retinue, together with ſome favour in the places where they moſt converſed. As for their outward form of Religion, there being no retiring places in Tents for the exerciſe of devotion, (*Iſaac* being fain to go forth into the Field to meditate) they made it their firſt work to erect Altars whereever they came; which were their places of reſort to pray and pay their Vows, and receive inſtructions and directions from God, (whether Oracularly,

Gen. 24. 63.

racularly, or by the mouth of the Priest, who was the Father of the Family) as it is said of *Rebekkah*, that when the Twins struggled in her, *She went to enquire of the Lord. And the Lord said unto her, Two Nations are in thy Womb*; which was said unto her, while *Abraham* was yet alive. Here they offered their Sin-offerings for expiation, and their propitiatory Sacrifices, or Peace-offerings, for reconcilement, and for further blessings. To these their Eucharistical Oblations of thanksgivings by First-fruits and Tenths and Spoils; which *Abraham* thought meet to make *Melchizedech*, as a greater Priest than himself, Partaker of (since the less is blessed by the greater) because he had a certain knowledge of this before the Law. As also, that though every Father of a Family was Priest in his own Tents, yet when he came to a greater Father in such a Tribe or Kindred, as were true Worshippers, that the younger was to serve the elder, and to pay such a reverence to him, as if he reserved none unto himself.

Gen. 25. 22, 23.

Heb. 7. 7.

Verisimile est unumquemque in suâ familiâ Principem, & Sacerdotem fuisse, atque inde has dignitates ad primogenitos pervenisse: ita ut primariæ familiæ primogenitus eas semper obtineret; aliarum verò familiarum primogeniti tum ad Rempublicam, tum ad sacra peragenda adhibiti sunt. Bertr.

Let

Let us next consider (before we leave them) some of their restraints and incommodities, under which it pleased God to discipline and train them up unto a growing Church.

We have a kind of Emblem of it in
Jer. 35. 6, &c. the Case of the *Rechabites*, *whose Father Jonadab commanded them, saying, Ye shall drink no Wine, you, nor your Wives, nor your Sons, nor your Daughters for ever: Neither shall ye build house, nor plant Vineyard, nor have a Field, nor any Seed. But all your days ye shall dwell in Tents, that ye may live many days in the Land, where ye be Strangers. Only, for fear of the Army of the Chaldeans,* (say they) *we dwell at Jerusalem*, for a time, even as *Abraham* might do in *Gerar*, or in *Hebron*, whose example that devout man seemed to recommend unto his Children and their Posterity for ever; and so to become more extraordinary Votaries than any of the *Nazarites*.

For Wine indeed, it was not forbidden to the Patriarchs; but they could not have it of their own, since they
Gen. 9. 20. could not be so well setled as *Noah*, *who began to be an Husbandman, and planted a Vineyard, and he drank the Wine, and was drunken*, belike as unaccustomed to it,

it too. Even as it happened unto *Lot*, whose Daughters got the Wine (no doubt) from the inhabitants of the Land: But since the Patriarchs had no such intimacy with their wicked Neighbours, we read of no other Beverage that they had, but *Milk* and Water. And such were their frugal entertainments, with *Cakes made ready upon the hearth, and a little Butter, Veal, or Kid*, fetched (as occasion served) from the Flock. And, that we may likewise think, might much conduce to their encrease of Wealth, since they made much ado about the approach of any Visitant, that came for kindness only, as a rare thing. Gen. 19. 23. Gen. 18. 5, 6, 7, 8.

As for the Fields, which *Abraham* and *Jacob* purchased, we have noted before, that the one was for no other use but a Burying-place, and the other for his Booth and his Altar, even as men at a Fair pay for the Ground they break or occupy for the time. For St *Stephen* telleth us, That *God gave them no inheritance in the Land, οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδὸς, not so much as to set their foot upon*; but a promise only unto *Abraham's* posterity. And St *Paul*, that *Abraham by faith* (only) *sojourned in the Land of promise, as in a strange Country*. And, in opposition Acts 7. 4. Heb. 11. 9.

unto houses, that *he dwelt in Tabernacles* (which are no more comparable unto Houses, than the Ship-Cabins to the Chambers of a Palace) with *Isaac* and *Jacob*, the Heirs with him of the same promise; though for *Isaac* it seems that he was not lodged under the same Roof with *Abraham*, but was enlarged enough in Family to have a Tent of his own, when he went forth to meet *Rebekkah*; and having met her, he brought her into his Mother *Sarah*'s Tent, or γυναικωνίτις, for mutual joy, and *Rebekkah*'s better welcome.

Gen. 24. 62, 67.

Having therefore no Lands, what should they do with Seed? This might be the Cause why they were so oft distressed by Famine, if there were a little Drought; because the Husbandmen of *Canaan* seem to have been but few, and might easily be brought to have little enough for their own necessities. And by these occasions happened the chiefest of the troubles of *Abraham*'s life, that have been touched before.

Which things considered and weighed, I cannot but wonder at some mens accessions, so near unto that *Socinian* fancy; as if the Fathers of the Old Testament did but only live according unto temporal

temporal promiſes, as they were in part from time to time fulfilled to them. So apt are men ſometimes to dote upon Antiquity, as if nothing in the latter Ages could either happen or be done like what was then; and at other times to look upon the ſame as meer dotage, even as young men when they hearken to old mens Tales think that they themſelves are able to do much more and better. Or, as others pretend, that the modern Ages muſt needs be far more knowing, becauſe they ſtand upon their Shoulders, while they are but growing up unto their Elbows; at leaſt more pious by revelation and experience: whereas more knowledge is loſt than can poſſibly be repaired, and more piety than the declining Age of the World is likely to reſtore.

CHAP. XXII.

Adam and Eve *earnestly looked towards the promised Seed.* Enoch *lived an heavenly life, and* Noah. Abraham, Isaac *and* Jacob *much in private devotions. The Saints of the Old Testament lived not by temporal promises, nor rested in them: But they lived, and were saved by faith in Christ; Proved out of both Testaments, and one Objection answered.*

WE may perceive by what hath been hinted before, what manner of life our Father *Adam* lived after his transgression, *viz.* praying and sacrificing in earnest expectation of the Seed promised, in whom all Sacrifices were to cease: And poor *Eve* (to make amends) travelled continually with the desire of obtaining it (as She hoped) in her own person. Wherefore when She brought forth her first-born, She said, *I have gotten a man from the Lord.* And when She came again in process of time with *Seth*, She said, *For God hath appointed me another Seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew.* So that the first promise

Gen. 4. 1. 25, 26.

miſe being to the Seed of the Woman, it is conceived to be ſome reaſon why they were allowed uſually to name their own Children. And when *Seth* had *Enoſh*, it is further ſaid, That *then men began to call upon the name of the Lord*, that is, the Sons of God began to ſever themſelves from the Sons of men, or the Race of *Cain*, and to worſhip apart from them.

And Enoch alſo, the ſeventh from Adam, (of whom it is ſaid, that he walked with God, and was not, for God took him) ſhewed by his prophecy what manner of Spirit he was of. *Behold* (ſaith he) *the Lord cometh with ten thouſand of his Saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard ſpeeches which ungodly Sinners have ſpoken againſt him.* Behold his faith in the Point of the Reſurrection and Judgment, his foreſight of the Flood, and his great zeal againſt all ſin; eſpecially thoſe of the times wherein he lived. Behold what Record is left of his exactneſs, his heavenly mindedneſs, his holy contemplations, and indefinent Communion, and famili- Jude 14, 15. Gen. 5. 24.

arity in walking *with God*; who had endued him with the Spirit of Prophecy and sanctity to such a measure, that (wanting nothing else but Vision) God translated him from Earth to Heaven in the middle of his days, *That he should not see death: for before his translation he had this testimony, That he pleased God.*

Hebr. 11. 5. in the 365. year of his life.

Gen. 5. 23. Gen. 6. 7. 1 Pet. 3. 20. & 2 Pet. 2. 5.

When it is therefore said of *Noah*, That he was *a just man, and perfect, and one that walked with God*; and that he endured long (as *a Preacher of righteousness*) the contradictions of Sinners, *while the Ark was in preparing* (which was about a hundred and twenty years by account) we may guess whether he was not also like to *Enoch*. And whether the holy speculations of these experienced Long-livers, were dry, or more unlearned, than the shorter-lived and shorter-sighted casts of the Ages following, may be well conjectured by the Book of *Job*, who lived hundreds, and *died full of days.*

Job 42. 16, 17.

Now for all the Saints (in general) of the Old Testament, let us see what their inward piety was; from *Abraham* the Father of the faithful, till the coming of Christ: that I may clear this Point, *Unam esse omnium fidem*, that there

there was but one faith of all Believers, the ſame with ours, faith in Chriſt, which was the ſtrength of all their lives and hopes; and not any carnal bleſſings whatſoever. Which I think worthy, in this place (as if it were once for all) to ſtate and prove, and anſwer ſuch Objections as may be made againſt it.

As for *Abraham*'s private Devotions, they appear in his Viſions, Expoſtulations and Interceſſions with Almighty God. *Iſaac*'s in his meditation and prayer recorded; *Jacob*'s in his vows and wreſtlings, whereby he did prevail with God, and obtain the name of *Iſrael*.

For the ſtate of the Queſtion moved, it needs no further explication, when it ſhall be remembred, that it ſpeaketh not of faith under any common Notion, (by which it might be diverſly divided) but of faith taken properly and ſtrictly for faith in Chriſt; of which it is aſſerted, that ſuch a faith was in all Believers from the beginning; more eſpecially from the promiſe made to *Abraham*, that in his Seed *all the Nations ſhould be bleſſed*. And, according unto true method, the next Proceeding muſt be to prove it by Authority and Reaſon.

Firſt, In the Old Teſtament, (not to

cite all places, but to point out to the diligent Reader how to find more) *Job* is expres when he saith, *I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin Worms destroy this Body, yet in my flesh shall I see God; whom I shall see for my self, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another, though my reins be consumed within me.* In which words it is plainly manifest that *Job* understood that the Seed promised was to be the Redeemer, that he should come in the Flesh, and after that to Judgment at the Day of the Resurrection, when he should glorifie them that had believed in him. All these even as we believe now. In the Prophecy of *Isaiah* we read this, *Thus saith the Lord who redeemed Abraham* *.

Job 19. 25,26,27. *Docet Jobi cum aliis fidelibus consensum. Quatenùs amicis respondet, sensus est; Licèt me pro impio habeatis, in Redemptorem vindicem unicè spero: fiduciam non abjeci; Conqueror à Deo mt ad tempus derelictum, sed tamen credo.* Varii Commentatores in Poli Synopsi.

* Isai. 29. 22.

Secondly, In the New Testament our Saviour testifieth thus much more of *Abraham* in particular, *Your Father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad.* First, He might see it by the Scriptures, which were extant before him: for (as I hinted before) it is not safe to think that God had left his Church for above two thousand years, without Record, only to favour unwarrantable

John 8. 56.

warrantable Tradition, which in ſuch times might have been erroneous, or in others corrupted; or too weak (without any Monuments) to have kept ſo many important Genealogies, as have been collected and digeſted by *Moſes* as the Spirit of God directed him, (and therefore thought fit to ſave no more but his Books unto Poſterity) and ſo to have tranſmitted them by memory alone. Nor may it be convenient to imagine that God by revelation only diſcovered unto *Moſes* all that had paſſed before, as if he had left himſelf in the Ages before without witneſs. Secondly, He might know it by the Sacrifices, which he was to offer for the doing away of ſin, which he knew to be the life of the lower Creatures inſtead of man, till the Redeemer ſhould come; and this he might know (in a more eſpecial manner) by the Precept diſpenſed with, which he had received, to offer up his only Son. Thirdly, He might know it by Viſion and Revelation; ſince when God had admitted *Abraham* himſelf, as a Type of Chriſt, to be a Mediator for ſinful *Sodom*, he had ſaid, *Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do, ſeeing that Abraham ſhall become a great and mighty Nation,* Gen. 18. 17, 18.

Nation, and all the Nations of the Earth shall be blessed in him; and since he will instruct his Children after him, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him?

Object. And if it be asked further, Why, what could he see in this day that should make him glad, more than the *Jews* that descended from him, who expected nothing more than temporal greatness at the *Messiah's* coming, which seems to be the literal meaning of the promise? Let us hear how our profound Bishop *Andrews* descanteth on it: "Why should

Resp. Serm. 8. on the Nativity. "*Abraham* (saith he) so desire to see "this day two thousand years, and "more, after his own were at an end? "How was he concerned in it? Yes, "Christ's birth he needed, and he had "good by it. Will ye hear it from his "own mouth? Thus he setteth down

Gen. 18. "his Case, *Ecce ego pulvis & cinis; Lo! "I am but dust and ashes*: Dust refers us "to *Dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt "return.* But why Ashes? He was not "made of these: This sure refers to "somewhat else. Ashes (we know) "come of fire: Without it they are "not made. So that besides death to "resolve him into dust, he saw a fire

"to

" to turn him into aſhes. He ſaw it in
" his Viſion when the Sun was down, Gen. 15.
" and it was Night, and *a great fear or*
" *horrour fell upon him*; he ſaw *Cliba-*
" *num fumantem*, a fiery Furnace. Blame
" him not, if after ſuch a Night he de-
" ſired to ſee ſuch a Day, and was glad
" when he beheld it.

Beſides, it is a vulgar errour which repreſents the *Jews* of the ancient times (whatſoever the modern think) as looking for no other than a King, when their *Meſſiah* ſhould come; for they looked for ſuch a Saviour as ſhould be withal the greateſt Prophet that they had ever had. Wherefore *Judas Maccabæus*, when he had pulled down the Altar that the Heathen had defiled, *he laid up* 1 Mac. 4. *the Stones*, by advice, *until there ſhould* 45. *come a Prophet, to ſhew what ſhould be done with them.* And was not this the Queſtion put to *John* the Baptiſt, *Art* John 1. *thou that Prophet, or do we expect ano-* 21. *ther?* And the Woman of *Samaria* ſpoke (no doubt) the ſenſe of *Iſrael* when ſhe ſaid, *I know that Meſſias co-* John 4. 25. *meth, which is called Chriſt: when he is come he will tell us all things.* But however the *Jews* were miſtaken in their day, our Saviour himſelf after his reſurrection,

Luke 24. 27. rection, *beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, expounded* [unto his Disciples] *in all the Scriptures, the things concerning himself.* And the like method did the Apostles use towards all men, when they had received the Holy Ghost.

Acts 3. 18. 22, 24. & 15. 16, &c.

This especially they studied to clear, That they brought in no new faith by Christ. *But we believe* (saith St *Peter*) *that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we shall be saved even as they,* viz. the Fathers, which had born the Yoke of the Law before, till they were weary: signifying that they were also saved by the same Grace of Christ (and not by the Law) before it was revealed by the Gospel in a clearer manner. *We having the same spirit of faith* (saith Saint *Paul*) by which the Psalmist spoke in the place he citeth. And if it be necessary to insist on more Texts, they will be apt (some of them) to fall in with the Reasons which I shall set in order.

Acts 15. 11.

2 Cor. 4. 13.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Church of the Old and New Testament but one. Christ made known in all his Offices before his incarnation. That he was King and Captain of his people, 1 Cor. 10. *illustrated. That Christ was Mediator also of the first Covenant delivered by* Moses.

THEY amount (in effect) to these, *First*, One Church; *Secondly*, One Head; and, *Thirdly*, The same Operations of the Spirit before and since. Which do all prove the unity or *sameness* of that saving faith, which was common unto them and us.

For the *first* of these, *Quis unquam negavit?* Who ever denied or doubted but that the Saints of the Old Testament made up the same Body of the Catholick Church, to which we hope to be joined, *The general Assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in Heaven, and the Spirits of just men made perfect?* Or who ever questioned but that those were saved by some faith or other equivalent unto ours? Wherefore *Jesus* also *took with him Peter, James and* Heb. 12. 23. Matth. 17. 1, 2.

and John to be transfigured before them, when there appeared also Moses and Elias talking with him; that his Apostles might be joined to his Prophets by himself, the Mediator (not only betwixt God and man, but) of either Testament. For *there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one Lord, and one faith, and one hope, and one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all,* as St *Paul* expresseth it, *Ephes.* 4. 4, 5, 6.

In hujus rei [scil. *unitatis fidei*] *mysterium transfigurationi Christi interfuerunt, duo ex veteri Lege, & tres ex novâ, ut omnium justorum utriusque temporis unam esse fidem, quæ in Christum est, insinuaretur.* Est. in lib. 3. sent. dist. 23. sect. 12.

For the second, *Ex sponsione factâ ab antiquo* (as the Master of the Sentences speaketh) by a certain compromise betwixt the Father and the Son, our Blessed Lord and Saviour exercised all his Offices of King, Priest and Prophet, and was so obeyed and believed in (according to the measure of revelation) before he was incarnate; and, *tanquam in præludiis*, (as the Fathers took the Phrase from one another) he made himself manifest in sundry manners before he came in Person. He appeared and communed with many; but with *Jacob* only he vouchsafed to wrestle hand to hand, and to name him *Israel*, because he had prevailed with God, *And Jacob called the*

P. Lumbard, dist. 1. lib. 3.

place

place Peniel, for I have ſeen God (ſaith he) *face to face, and my life is ſaved.* Gen. 32. 21, 28, 30.

To exemplify the appearances of Chriſt in theſe his Offices (apart and ſeverally) through divers paſſages or places of the Old Teſtament, may ſeem ſuperfluous; ſince they are to be found exerted there (in act) more than once, and ſometimes all at once. In our Syſtems of Divinity they ſerve for better method, or clearer illuſtration of ſome particular Points or Queſtions. If he guided their Kings, they expected another kind of Kingdom; if he inſpired their Prophets, they expected another kind of Prophet, when the time ſhould come; if they repaired to their Prieſts according to the Law, they knew that they needed another Advocate or Interceſſor in many Caſes; neither were they ſatisfied with any of their Sacrifices, *For thou deſireſt not ſacrifice, elſe would I give it. Purge me with Hyſſop, and I ſhall be clean. Create in me a clean heart; and--- Deliver me from bloud-guiltineſs, that my tongue may ſing aloud of thy righteouſneſs,* &c. Neither was this the Notion of ſo choice a Spirit as *David*'s only, but it paſſed into the Vulgar Doctrine of the Scribes; for one of them replyed upon our Lord Pſal. 51.

in

Mark 12. 32, &c. in these terms, *Well master, thou hast said the truth: for there is one God, and to love him with all the heart, is more than all whole Burnt-offerings and Sacrifices.* To whom our Lord again, *Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God.* Not as if Sacrifices, the Ordinances and Sacraments of God, could be neglected (without which there was no remission of sin) but because in Sacrifices there might be more or less profusion (being partly Eucharistical, even their very Sin-Offerings) according to the wealth or liberality of the Offerer; as also, because the thing signified was of more worth than the sign thereof.

Lightfoot's Temple-Service. ch. 8. sect. 1.

Yet it shall not be amiss to consider the headship of Christ two ways, *viz.* as to (1.) Power; and (2.) Mediation, whatsoever Offices may be comprized under these, during the state of the Old Testament.

Heb. 11. 24, &c. Of the first we read, That *Moses, when he was come to years, did by faith refuse to be called Pharaoh's daughters son; esteeming the reproaches of* CHRIST (to whose Kingdom he belonged) *greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompence of reward, viz.* in the Kingdom of Christ. And of all the people of

of *Israel* it is said, That *by faith they paſſed* (under Chriſt's conduct) *through the Red Sea, as by dry Land.* Which paſſage of theirs is more fully cleared in another place, *Moreover, Brethren, I would not have you ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the Cloud, and all paſſed through the Sea. And were all baptized into Moſes in the Cloud, and in the Sea. And did all eat the ſame ſpiritual meat, and did all drink the ſame ſpiritual drink: for they drank of that ſpiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was CHRIST. But with many of them God was not well pleaſed---- Which things were our examples. Let us not therefore luſt as they did, neither let us tempt CHRIST, as ſome of them alſo tempted HIM, and were deſtroyed of Serpents; neither murmur, as ſome of them alſo murmured, and were deſtroyed of the Deſtroyer,* that is, the Peſtilence. Was not therefore the Regiment of the Church of the Old Teſtament under God the Father? Or, if any delegation of Government was unto Chriſt, under compromiſe (as was mentioned before) did he himſelf deſtroy, who was ſaid to be the Mediator (likewiſe) before of either Teſtament? The Anſwer unto this

Ver. 29.

1 Cor. 10: 1, 2, &c.

Numb. 14. 37.

will fall in better with the next consideration, *viz.* of the Mediation, or Mediatorship of Christ, which may chance to clear more obscure Texts all together.

(2.) Wherefore, as Mediator, our Blessed Lord (under the state of the Old Testament at least) seemed in one respect to have been but as a Moderator unto temporal punishments; and in another, an Intercessor, not only that all punishment should be remitted, both temporal and spiritual, but also that all Grace and Favour, necessary unto that estate, should be afforded. Neither will I be curious to divide these Parts of his Office of Mediator, more than of the other; but I shall shew what I find in reference unto any part at all relating unto this Head, or remaining Headship of Christ, as it may happen to conduce unto the first purpose.

First, The Apostle tells us, That the Law it self *was ordained by Angels in the hand of a Mediator.* And that, *When Moses had spoken every Precept to all the people, according to the Law, he took the blood of Calves and Goats, with Water and Scarlet Wool and Hyssop, and sprinkled both the Book and all the people, saying,*

Gal. 3. 19. Heb. 9. 19, 20.

This

This is the bloud of the Teſtament, which God hath enjoined unto you. Whereupon neither the firſt Teſtament was dedicated without bloud: for almoſt all things were by the Law purged with bloud; and without ſhedding of bloud is no remiſſion.

As the Apoſtle would therefore have the *Corinthians* know, that by the miniſtry of *Moſes* all the *Iſraelites* were baptized into Chriſt, by the Type of the Cloud over their heads, and the Sea round about their bodies; and did in effect and virtue partake of the like Sacraments, by which they ate and drank of the fulneſs of Chriſt (the Rock that followed them when they left the other behind) and ſo had the like priviledges as the *Corinthians* had: Yet as God was diſpleaſed with many of *them* to their deſtruction, ſo he might with *theſe* too. He taketh not the Government from God the Father, while he ſheweth who had the conduct from the beginning hitherto. *Opera Trinitatis ad extra ſunt indiviſa.* But if the Son be deſpiſed now, as heretofore, God the Father may extend his juſtice where the Mediator is wickedly ſet aſide by men, for whoſe redemption he had ſatisfied. But whether it was ever committed un-

[redacted] to Christ to destroy his own enemies (in any other than a spiritual way) before his coming, or since his exaltation, is beyond the Question. But St *Paul* would have his *Galatians* and the *Hebrews* know, not only that Christ is the Mediator of a new and better Covenant than that which *Moses* made in the behalf of the people; but also that Christ himself, in the person of *Moses*, was indeed the Mediator of that too; or else that it had been the worser for them.

Heb. 8. 6. & 9. 15. & 12. 24.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

It was neceſſary by reaſon of the Curſe annexed to the firſt Covenant, that it ſhould be delivered in the hands of a Mediator, who could be no other than Chriſt himſelf. God cauſed the Covenant of Works to be ſhut in a Cheſt under the Mercy-ſeat, and why? The benefit of Chriſt's mediation otherwiſe. The Unity of the Spirit in both Teſtaments.

THE thing that troubled St *Paul*, and the Churches of his Plantation, (more than any other) was this, *Certain men which came down from Judæa, taught the Brethren, ſaying, Except ye be circumciſed according unto Moſes, ye cannot be ſaved.* Againſt whom St *Paul* diſputeth in moſt of his Epiſtles, and having ſhewed the Churches, that this Doctrine *made them Debtors to the whole Law* (as to keep the *Jewiſh* Sabbaths, Newmoons, and other Faſts and Feaſts; as alſo to their vows and purifyings; to their abſtinence from all unclean meats, and from all ſuch Companies as ate ſo; and from all uncircumciſed perſons

Acts 15. 1.

Gal. 5. 3.

whatsoever, though Believers in Christ; In fine, to repair to *Jerusalem* to sacrifice, as the Head-City and Mother-Church, as oft as the Law of *Moses* required) he takes the Question it self soundly to task, to discover the danger and the ill consequents of it.

Amongst his other Arguments, these are strong and pressing: 1. That the free promise was made to *Abraham* four hundred and thirty years before the Law was given by *Moses*; so that *Abraham* being justified by faith without the Law, the Law could not render the promise void to any that believed as *Abraham* had done before. 2. But that the Law, so far as it contained Types and Figures of things to come, was it self abolished by Christ, in whom they were all accomplished. 3. And as for the Moral Law, That none was ever justified by that, or ever could be; neither was it given for that end, but only *added because of transgressions*, or delivered in a terrible manner to that backsliding and corrupting people, as a Bridle, *till the Seed should come to whom the promise was made*. 4. In fine, Because the whole Law had this dreadful Codicil annexed to it, *Cursed is every one that*

Gal. 3. 17, 19, &c.

conti-

continueth not in all things, which are written in the Book of the Law, to do them; that they had in thoſe times been miſerable, if the Law, which was delivered by thundring Angels, had not been *ordained in the hand of a Mediator*; which is the Point that toucheth cloſeſt to that which we are now about.

Who was this Mediator then? And why muſt the Law be needs ordained in the hand of ſuch an one? The Mediator, in a Type and true Vice-gerency, was *Moſes*, beyond all doubt; and the end why he was fitted to interpoſe at the giving of the Law, was becauſe the people was affrighted at *the ſound of the Trumpet, and the voice of words, and the Mount that burned with fire, entreating that the word ſhould not be ſpoken to them any more: for they could not endure that which was commanded.* So *Moſes ſtood between the Lord and them*, at that time, as a Type of Chriſt, who breaketh the Majeſty of the Father, delivering us from the terrour of his Juſtice and Power. But in effect and virtue it was *the good will of him that dwelt in the Buſh*, that was the true Mediator then (though not after the ſame manner as he is of the New Covenant) the ſame that appeared in the Cloud

Exod. 19. 9, &c. Deut. 5. 5. & Heb. 12. 18, &c.

Levit. 16. 2. Cloud upon the Mercy-Seat; and upon the Tabernacle, to guide them and protect them from the heats; that cleft the Numb. 9. 15. 21. 6, &c. Rocks when they were thirsty, and gave them Manna when they hungred; Exod. 17. 11, &c, that delivered them from the fiery Serpents; and by the same *Moses*'s intercession, holp them to prevail against *Amalek* *. Nor did he leave his Office neither as soon as he had brought them into the Land of promise: But his Mediation, in whatsoever we may discover it, was profitable to them, to the end. For, after their first restipulation with God by the hand of *Moses* (who returned this Answer from them unto him that sent him, *All that the Lord hath spoken we will do*) it pleased God to cause this Covenant of Works to be shut up in a Chest, called the Ark of the Covenant or Testimony [betwixt God and them] but to be covered with a Mercy-Seat, and then placed according unto his direction; which in *Solomon*'s Temple was in *the Oracle of the most holy place:* and the reason of his prayer, why God should hearken to the

Exod. 19. 8.

Exod. 25. 16, 17. 1 Kings 8. 6, &c.

* *Patrem per filium dedisse Legem consentiunt Veteres, & Recentiores, Græci & Latini. Sensus est, Legem per Angelos ordinatam (uno Angelo denuntiante, ut Act. 7. 38.) in manu Christi dispositam esse, qui pro nobis eam præstitit: Vel, Legem Israelitis traditam fuisse per manum, sive directionem, Christi Mediatoris, populum illum in suum adventum hoc modo præparantis.* Varii.

the ſupplications of his people (in any Caſe, or without any Offerings) whenſoever they ſhould but look toward that holy place, and pray. By which we know where the Throne of the Mediator was under the Old Teſtament.

If they tranſgreſſed, the Covenant encloſed was a Teſtimony againſt them; but there was a Mercy-Seat above it, as though God would oblige himſelf to his Covenant of mercy, though they ſhould break their Covenant of obedience to him. And this was a gracious Argument to him, not to caſt them off upon every provocation, but rather to chaſtiſe them gently, and to reſtore them to his former favour, by virtue of his elder Covenant of Promiſe, made unto *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, their Progenitors. So that *when their hearts were not right with him, neither were they ſtedfaſt in his Covenant, he being full of compaſſion, forgave their iniquity, and deſtroyed them not, yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and did not ſtir up all his wrath.* Pſal. 78. 37, 38, 39.

O ye Seed of Abraham his Servant, ye Children of Jacob his choſen. ---He hath remembred his Covenant for ever, which he made with Abraham, and his Oath unto Iſaac. And confirmed the ſame unto Jacob Patriarcha Fœderis hanc promiſſionem accepit, Ergo Deus vetus, & po-

Iteritatis veſtra. Hinc perſæpè in ſacro Codice,

cob for a Law; and to Iſrael for an everlaſting Covenant--- He remembred his holy promiſe, and Abraham his Servant.

cùm Iſraelitæ veniam ab irato Deo, & inſuper magna impetrant beneficia, Cœleſti voce monentur, uti hoc totum acceptum ferant majoribus ſuis Abrahamo, Iſaaco, Jacobo. Creber ille ſermo eſt in Pentatucho, & in Vatum Scriptis. Porrò Fœderis illius quod cum Patriarchis ſancitum diximus, Sponſor Meſſias fuit, qui ideo appellatur Angelus Fœderis: Propter ipſum Meſſiam igitur ſalus Iſraelitis data erat, etiam propter majorem fidem. P. Cunæus lib. 3. cap. ult.

And though God ſuffered at laſt the *Aſſyrians* to deſtroy this Ark (together with his Temple) ſo that the ſecond Temple wanted this ineſtimable pledge of Grace; yet when the people humbled themſelves with *Nehemiah*, and other of their Reformers, and renewed their Covenant with God by their repentance, they were accepted without the Ark, ſo as to ſtand upon their good behaviour more than ever, like a Fort diſmantled, or a City that is diſfranchized of its former priviledges. But the time was ſhort then, after the Lord had ſaid ſo long before, *Lo, I come (in the Volume of thy Book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God.*

Heb. 10. 7.

In fine, as they had the ſame Head, ſo they had the ſame Spirit that we have now; which may ſerve for a Cloſe to all the Arguments. That I may not ſeem

seem to skrew or wire-draw any Text of Scripture, St *Peter* is expreſs, *Of which ſalvation* (ſaith he) *the Prophets have enquired, and ſearched diligently, who propheſied of the Grace that ſhould come unto you, ſearching what and what manner of time the Spirit of* CHRIST, *which was in them, did ſignifie, when it teſtified before-hand the ſufferings of* CHRIST, *and the glory that ſhould follow. ----Which things the Angels deſired to look into,* as having been appointed miniſtring Spirits, before and ſince, united alſo to this Church of Chriſt. 1 Pet. 1. 10, 11.

And if we look upon the operations of the Spirit, and ſee how it wrought before and ſince; we ſhall find the ſame breathings of the Saints of both Teſtaments in their Confeſſions *, Prayers and Arguments; ſave only that what we ask for Chriſt's ſake, by virtue of his death, his reſurrection and his interceſſion for us; they asked by the mercies of God (not at large, as Heathen-men, but as) annexed to his Promiſes and his Covenant, and his faithfulneſs therein, with reſpect unto him that was to come, whatſoever Notions they had of him: Which we ſhall take account of in the laſt place, by anſwering two or three more

* As may appear by *Pſal.* 51. alone.

more Objections, to attain the clearer light in this particular; trusting that the Reader will think it as worthy of his perusal, as I of my digesting. In the mean while we leave the Saints of the Old Testament, as endued with the same hope, love and patience, as these of the New; and have thereupon inferred, according to the connexion of the Graces of the Spirit, that they must needs have the like faith ||. And for their outward Worship, *all the people were sprinkled with the blood* [a] of Mediation, often shed, as ours are, by the blood of Christ, once shed for all, unto the Worlds end.

|| *Idem & ratione ductâ à simili ostenditur. Est una spes omnium, quâ ad tandem felicitatem tendunt; & una charitas, quâ omnia propter Deum diligunt: ergo & una fides.* Est. ubi supra.

[a] Heb. 9. 19, 20.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Second Objection propounded, How that little which they knew could answer unto that justifying faith which we have now. First, *The things that they believed considered, and shewed, That they amounted to as much as our Creed, less than which may be a ground of justifying faith.* Secondly, *For the manner of their faith, it was explicit. The distinction of explicit and implicit weighed; How much faith in them. Fiducial faith.*

THE first Objection was, That a few choice persons only had any special notion of the *Messiah* to come. The next is, That of those very choice persons so little was known, as could not be a sufficient ground of such a faith as we account to be a justifying or a saving faith in Christ; since of the Prophets, to some one was revealed one part of this mystery; to some others a little more; to no one the whole. Nay, it is to be gathered from that place of S^t. *Peter* quoted before, that some of them had Commission to pro- Obj. 2.

propheſie more than the meaning whereof was revealed even to themſelves. For he ſaith, *Of which ſalvation the Prophets* (that propheſied) *have enquired and ſearched diligently of the Grace that ſhould come unto you*, (and not unto themſelves) *unto whom it was revealed* (at the laſt) *that not unto themſelves, but unto us they did miniſter the things which are now reported unto you. Which things* (for all their Prophecies) *the Angels deſired to pry into.*

Reſp. Let us, firſt, conſider the things believed (or to be believed) betwixt them and us; and, ſecondly, then *de modo*, of the manner of their Faith and ours, how far they agree or differ.

Firſt, If they and we do agree in the ſame Creed (which is called the Apoſtles Creed) then certainly we both agree in *fide credendâ*, in the Faith which is to be believed. But why we ſhould not be taken to agree in this, ſince every Article of it may be articulately proved out of the Old Teſtament, there can (indeed) be no other reaſon given than that which is inſinuated, *viz.* That though the ſubſtance be there; yet it lyes ſcattered, and was not revealed (ſo much

much as in the matter) all at once; nor the end clearly underſtood by them, to whom the matter it ſelf was revealed.

Now if this Creed (which is ſufficient) be but underſtood confuſedly by many of ours, and yet we take it to be ground enough for a ſaving faith to be built upon it, as they know in part; how much more may we extend our latitude of Charity to the Saints of the Old Teſtament, who believed upon the matter as much as ſome of ours, before it was propounded in ſuch an order?

Let me ſay further, That it was enough for them to know in the general that Chriſt ſhould be born in the time appointed, to redeem us (without any circumſtances) to ground even a Fiducial Faith upon that alone. But let us ſee how much they knew more. We have proved that our Father *Adam* offered Sacrifices according unto revelation. And if they came in ure by revelation, it is reaſonable to imagine that the end alſo was ſome way or other revealed from the firſt, *viz.* That Chriſt himſelf

Aug. in 1 Tim. 2. Ep. 89. *Unus* (inquit) *eſt Mediator, quia unum Chriſtum ad juſtificationem nobis prodeſſe commemorat Apoſtolus: ut ſciamus etiam Antiquos juſtos, non niſi per eandem fidem liberatos, quâ & nos: fidem* ſcil. *incarnationis Chriſti, quæ illis prænuntiabatur, ſicut à nobis facta annuntiatur.*

self should be offered up unto God (in the appointed time) to do away that sin which *Adam* had contracted; the punishment whereof deserved death and fire, as the act of Oblation required true repentance and contrition, with compassion on the innocent that was to dye in the stead of the nocent. And was not *Abraham* taught as much as this, (do you think?) when God commanded him to offer up his only Son *Isaac*, and in sparing *Isaac*, provided *Abraham* of another Sacrifice? But when we come to the Book of the Psalms and the Prophets, both the death and resurrection and ascension and sending of the Holy Ghost are all described to the life; so that the Object of Faith was but only more comfortably enlarged than before, and left under less obscurity, as the Day-Star and the dawning drew the nearer. Nor was all the Scripture of the Old Testament of no profit in its own time, (*which was given by inspiration of God, for their instruction in righteousness*) though *many things happened unto them as Types unto us, and are also written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the World are come.*

2 Tim. 3. 16.

1 Cor. 10. 11.

Upon all which, St *Augustine* is here produ-

producible with a clear Verdict: Before the Coming of Christ (saith he) there were righteous men, so believing in him to come, as we believe in him come: The times are varied, not the Faith. We believe that our Lord was born of a Virgin, suffered, rose again, and ascended; They that all this should be thereafter, &c.

Ante adventum Christi præcesserunt justi, sic in tum credentes venturum, quomodo nos credimus in tum qui venit. Tempora variata sunt, non fides, quia & ipsa verba pro tempore variantur, cùm variè declinantur. Eadem tamen fides utrosque conjungit, & eos qui venturum esse, & eos qui tum venisse crediderunt, diversis quidem temporibus, sed utrosque per unum fidei ostium, hoc est per Christum videmus ingressos. Nos credimus Dominum nostrum natum ex Virgine, venisse in carne, &c. Tract. in Joan. 45. Et alibi: *Sine fide incarnationis, & mortis, & resurrectionis Christi, nec antiquos justos ut justi essent, à peccatis potuisse mundari, & Dei gratiâ justificari, veritas Christiana non dubitat..... vel ante diluvium, vel inde usque ad datam Legem, vel ipsius Legis tempore, non solùm in filiis Israel, sicut fuerunt Prophetæ, sed etiam extra eundem populum, sicut fuit Job. Et ipsorum etiam corda eâdem mundabantur Mediatoris fide, & diffundebatur in eis charitas per Spiritum Sanctum, qui ubi vult, spirat, non merita sequens, sed etiam ipsa merita faciens.* Lib. de pecc. origin. cap. 24. *Quecunque sacræ Scripturæ loca probant neminem salvari sine Christo Mediatore, eadem valent ad probandam fidei necessitatem.* Est. in lib. 3. dist. 25. sect. 4.

Secondly, But because neither they nor we could be saved by believing any Articles only, howsoever clear; let us next consider *de modo*, or *de fide quâ*, by what manner of faith they might believe in Christ as well as we, unto justification by him.

To this we have also an Answer in the

Quicunque ab exordio generis humani in eum crediderunt, eumq; utcunq; intellexerunt, & secundum ejus Præcepta piè, & justè vixerunt, quandolibet, & ubilibet fuerint, per eum proculdubio salvi facti sunt. Aug. Ep. 49. ad Deogratias, Qu. 2.

general from the same Father, Whosoever (saith he) from the beginning have believed in him, however understood, whensoever it was, or wheresoever they were, without doubt they were saved by Him.

But this Answer will not serve the turn, since the late distinction of the School-men about explicit and implicit faith; so that we must endeavour to give a clearer and more particular Reply to the thing in Question.

Summ. 1, 2. Qu. 2. Artic. 5. Lumbard. lib. 3. dist. 25. b.

The Distinction it self seemeth to have been first coined by *Aquinas* in his Comments on the Master of the Sentences, who called this explicit Faith, (*Fidem distinctam in aperto*, and the other *Fidem velatam in mysterio*) such a distinct Faith by revelation as *Abraham* and *Moses* had, and such a veiled Faith in the mystery as they received from them in the after-times; to whom no more was revealed, but that they must believe as *Abraham* and *Moses* had done before, having no distinct knowledge of all the Articles of the Faith that were delivered to them. But *Aquinas*'s explicit Faith

Faith is described to be, *Quâ quid creditur secundùm se, & in particulari*, the believing of a thing by it self, and in particular; and his implicit to be, *Quâ quid creditur in alio, tanquam in universali*, the believing of a thing that is contained in another, as in the general. Which at last was wrested to this sense, *Velut si quis ex animo profiteatur sê credere quicquid credit Ecclesia*, as if any one should profess that he believeth from his heart what the Church believeth; which we take to be no faith at all, but only a blind obedience. Est. in l. 3. d. 25. sect. 2.

But of the Believers of the Old Testament we say, first, that they had a certain explicite Faith in Christ, in some measure, every one of them according to the Word of Grace that was any way revealed or transmitted to them. And then that there was implicitly more contained in that which they received (which was indeed veiled in a mystery) than they could possibly conceive: Whether they received it in Doctrine, or in the Promises, or, more especially, in any of the Types and Figures of the Law. But an implicit Faith in their own Church they had not; neither could they be saved by the faith of their

Progenitors, like little Infants, (as *Cunæus* is apt to think that some of them might be) but every one by his own faith; and that a Fiducial Faith too, wherein I follow *Cunæus* for the rest: But to avoid that Question of the Schoolmen, (or to refer my Reader to them) How much or how little it was necessary for the ordinary people, before the coming of Christ, to believe concerning him; as also to make way for my more direct proceeding; I cannot but take that passage of St *Bernard* in my way. "If the "Prophets (saith he) and choicest of "them did not all know all alike, but "some more, some less; how much more "might the simpler sort, without any "detriment unto their salvation, be ignorant of the time and manner; "while they held fast the things promised with a certain faith and hope?

Etiamsi multitudo nihil cognitum, perceptúmve habuisset de Messia, nihilo tamen minus Cœlestem beatitudinem dari illis potuisse propter Patriarchas, qui Messiam mente intuiti sunt, & Fœderis hanc Promissionem acceperè à Numine, Ero Deus vester, & Posteritatis vestræ. Hinc persæpe veniam, & magna impetrant beneficia majorum suorum gratiâ... Sic Infantibus ad salutem pietas Parentum valet. Ubi supra.

Quod si Prophetæ, & illustriores, qui videbantur in illo populo, non omnes omnia liquido æqualiter agnoscere valuerunt, sed alii plus, alii minus; quanto magis simpliciores quique justi, sine detrimento salutis, salvationis modum, tempus, & ordinem nescire potuerunt; quæ tamen certâ spe, & fide, uti promissa fuerant, firmissimè tenuerunt? Bern. in Ep. 77. ad Hugonem.

Yet

Yet I cannot but wonder how the Fathers and Schoolmen could all beat about ſo much (as they have done) in this ſuit; and not withal bethink themſelves, that this faith of the Believers of *Iſrael* (at leaſt) was not wholly towards a Mediator to come; but was alſo in him, as having him with them in every time, even as they had ever ſince they had the name of *Iſrael*: For I have ſhewed how he wreſtled with *Iſrael* (in particular) and was with them all in the Red Sea, and the Deſart. To proceed therefore a little further, and you ſhall know what manner of explicit and fiducial faith they had, and how far it was implicit or veiled, (take which term you like the better) and how agreeable unto that Faith which we conceive to be ſaving now.

CHAP. XXVI.

That the Israelites *were not saved by a blind obedience, or any mere implicit faith only; but by a fiducial trust in the mercies of* God, *as they were exhibited in the Ark of the Covenant, and the Mercy-seat erected over it. That the* Cherubims, *erected at either end, represented the same Church, of one piece, of either Testament, looking towards Christ; who really dwelt (by his Divine presence) betwixt them, and so shewed himself their King and Prophet. The Argument of the next Chapter propounded.*

WE are never nearer to a bright Morning, than when we pass through an early foggy Mist. When we are told that the *Israelites* (for their parts) might be saved by a mere obedience, without any explicit Faith at all in Christ, *tanquam per opera operata*, (as they speak abusively to the very terms;) or else by the faith of their Forefathers, as if it could be imputed unto them to justification, as Christ's righteousness is to us: Or, in fine, by believing that God,

God, who could do wonders, would redeem them, and all Mankind, one way or other, in the general (they knew not how) we are left in a maze.

But when we come to this result, *viz.* That as the Patriarchs before the Law worshipped God in Christ at many Altars; so after the giving of the Law, the Children of *Israel* worshipped him in his holy Tabernacle, at one only Altar; as having Christ there in the midst of them, sitting on the Mercy-Seat as his Throne, and dwelling betwixt the Cherubims, who was the Keeper of their Covenant; and that their trust in the mercies of God (shadowed there by the wings of the Cherubims) according to all his promises, was their fiducial faith in God, through Christ *Jesus*; I say, when we come to this result, methinks we have found a certain Clue, to bring us out of all perplexity, and to shew us, that the Saints of the Old Testament had (at least) enough to stay their Stomachs till the Word it self should be made flesh, and come to dwell among them, in a larger place.

In this posture we therefore find the Mediator of both Testaments, as exercising all his Offices under the first; for

protection, direction and doing away of sin, in such an extraordinary way as all the other expedients of the Ceremonial Law could not come near. The Ark it self contained the Law of the ten words, which when the people had accepted, saying, *All that the Lord hath spoken we will do*, it became a Covenant of Works to that people, and to no other, though a Rule and Obligation unto all Mankind, that should come to know it. And when God had commanded that this should be laid up before him in the Ark, and placed in the Holy of Holies; the Ark came to be called the Ark of the Covenant, or of Testimony. However, he that gave the Law, knowing their proneness to transgress, was graciously pleased to command that it should be covered with the Mercy-Seat; remembring his elder Covenant of Grace, made with *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, in whom not only one people, but *all the nations of the earth should be blessed*. And for Supporters to the Mercy-Seat, as a Royal Throne, he caused two Cherubims of Gold, beaten out of one Piece, to be set at either end of it, which spreading out their wings on high, covered the Mercy-Seat

Exod. 19. 8.

Exod. 37. 6, &c.

Seat therewith; and having their faces one towards another, looked both towards the Mercy-Seat.

Now in that the Cherubims were both of one Piece, looking both towards this Mercy-Seat, (which was also made of pure Gold, that we might know the worth of mercy) they served aptly to set forth the posture of the Saints of both Testaments, which in their faces look towards one another, and both towards Christ: and in the spreading of their wings, they reach the two sides of the World, while they touch in the middle, and so do sweetly join to one another, as Dr *Lightfoot* speaks. But betwixt these was the strength and glory of *Israel*, the most pregnant and proper resemblance of our Saviour, in whom God dwelleth among men: Nor was it a mere resemblance, but it was truly so. For *Hezekiah* (in his distress) *prayed before the Lord, and said, O Lord God of Israel, which dwellest between the Cherubims, bow down thine ear and hear; open thine eyes, and see and save us, that all the Earth may know, that thou art the Lord God, even thou alone.* Temple, chap. 15. sect. 4. 2 Kings 19. 15, &c. So Psal. 80. 1. & 99. 1.

This Ark the Priests were therefore ordered to carry forth to Battel, while the 1 Sam. 4. 4. & 2 Sam. 6. 2. &c.

the Tabernacle stood, and it was the *Palladium* of *Israel*, they were either victorious, or invincible, while they had it with them; for the King of Glory went along with it: And, *Who was that King of Glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battel; The Lord of Hosts is the King of Glory.* So that when the *Philistines* had once taken this Ark, (though they could not hold it long) the Wife of *Phinehas* fell in travail, and dyed; having first named her Son *Ichabod*; *because*, said she, *the glory is departed from Israel, since the Ark of God is taken.* In fine, when it pleased God to deliver them up to the *Assyrians* for their incorrigible Idolatry (which was not a breach of the Covenant in part, but in the whole) he suffered this Ark, Mercy-Seat and all, to be burned with the Temple.

Psal. 24.

1 Sam. 4. 22.

To this, the same Ark was their Oracle, and gave name to the whole Room, the Holy of Holies, to be called the Oracle, *For there I will meet with thee* (said God) *and I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, from between the two Cherubims, which are upon the Ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give in commandment unto the Children*

1 Kings 6. 16.

Exod. 25. 12.

dren of Iſrael. And thus it was of frequent uſe ſo long as the firſt Temple did continue.

But that which is moſt to the purpoſe (to underſtand the Object and the manner of the faith of the Saints of old) is that which preſents it ſelf to our next thoughts, about the Prieſtly Office of Chriſt within this inner Temple, beyond the miniſtry of the Sons of *Levi*, which was in the outer Sanctuary, (once a year excepted, when it was permitted to the High Prieſt alone to enter in hither.)

I hardly can forbear to deliver my own opinion expreſly here, although I know no other authority to fortifie it by, beſides the very Scriptures themſelves, or what an ingenuous man may accept for a reaſonable inference upon them. I take the Ark it ſelf to have been a kind of Altar.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Kingdom given unto Christ for his Priesthood-sake; who as of the order of Melchizedek *had an inner house and Altar, to which the house of* Aaron *owed reverence: That it was not properly an Altar, but bore some analogy; and was needful for the people. That the promises of God before the Law were virtually concealed in the Ark. A new Objection started.*

IT was in contemplation of Christ's Priesthood, that God the Father bestowed the Kingdom on him, according
Psal. 110. to that of the Royal Psalmist, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.... The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever, after the Order of Melchizedek*, that is,
Heb. 7. 15. *after the similitude* (as the Apostle doth expound it) of that King of righteousness; which word doth indifferently signifie mercy in the use of the Old Testament.

Within this inward Temple (therefore)

fore) it was convenient that another kind of Altar ſhould be reſerved for another kind of Prieſt than *Aaron* was, (who had the Ruler of the people over him; and many Laws lying on his Order, from which *Melchizedek* was free) *For the Law made nothing perfect; but the bringing in of a better hope did, by which we draw nigh unto God.... which hope we have as an Anchor of the ſoul both ſure and ſtedfaſt; and which entreth into that within the Veil. Whither the forerunner is for us entred, even Jeſus, made an High Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchizedek,* who was a Type of him; as the Holy of Holies, within the Veil, was of Heaven; having the Throne of God in the midſt of it, and a multitude of Cherubims beſides it, after *Solomon* had put the laſt hand to it. And as our hope is now (above all) in the interceſſion of Chriſt in Heaven; ſo was theirs of old within the Veil, more than it was without, as I am about to ſhew.

Heb. 7. 19. Chap. 6. 19, 20.

But becauſe it doth not conſiſt with the oneneſs of the Body of Chriſt, that there ſhould be more Temples or Altars (properly ſo called) than one; I ſhall

shall first address my self to some accommodation *.

* *Nec quis miretur (insupèr) auratam mensam, cui panes facierum apponi solebant, tanquam oblationes, in Ararum censum referri. Sicut enim Ara Mensa Dei* (Mal. 1. 12.) *ita Mensa Dei Ara quædam erat, Aræque planè vicem præstabat. Neque verò apud Judæos tantùm, sed etiam apud prophanas Gentes, Mensas ritè dedicatas Ararum vices præstitisse legimus. In papyriano enim jure evidentèr relatum est Aræ vicem præstare posse mensam dicatam.* Outr. lib. 1. cap. 8.

Besides the Altar of Oblation, there stood apart (and nearer to the Veil) the Golden Altar, or Altar of Incense, by God's appointment; which served to set forth the intercession of the Angel of the Covenant, who is represented to us in the Revelation, as *standing at the Altar, having a golden Censer, with much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all Saints upon the golden Altar, which was before the Throne; the smoke whereof ascended up before God out of the Angels hand, and then the Angel took his Censer, and filled it with fire of the Altar, and cast it to the Earth* (as a return of prayers) and then the judgments of God began to work below. Which Altar therefore stands not in opposition to the other; nor this that I am about to speak of to either of them. But now I will shew what analogy, and what need or use there was of this token.

Rev. 8. 3, &c.

Quod

Quod prius præstantius, was the great Rule that St *Paul* went by in preferring Christ's Priesthood before *Levi*'s, in that it was according to the likeness of *Melchizedek*'s, unto whom *Levi* himself had paid Tythes in the Loins of his Father *Abraham*. And in this he shews the excellency of the New Testament above the Old, that it was four hundred and thirty years (indeed) the elder of the two. *This I say* (saith he) *that the Covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the Law which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of no effect.* And that it might not do so, God laid a Mercy-Seat over the Law, and put all together behind the Veil; where he kept the Archives of his first promise made to *Abraham*, and to *Isaac*, and to *Jacob*, concerning Christ: In reference whereunto he bad *Moses* tell the people from the very first beginning of his vocation, *The Lord God of your Fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you. This is my name for ever; and this is my memorial unto all Generations.* This was his name within the Veil, covered with the wings of Angels, while

Heb. 8. 4, &c.

Gal. 3. 17.

Exod. 3. 13.

while the Lord of life was yet in the Loins of his Progenitors.

Obj. 3. So that if any one be ready to object further against the knowledge of Christ of old, that *Moses put a veil* [of Types and Ceremonies] *over his face*, [on purpose] *that the Children of Israel could not stedfastly look to the end of that which is abolished* [*viz.* the Ceremonial Law.] *But their minds were blinded so, that until this day, the same Veil remaineth on them in the reading of the Old Testament*; we are as ready to meet them with another passage of the same Apostle.

Resp. *Wherefore then serveth the Law?* [Was it given to the prejudice of the Grace of Christ?] *It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come, to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by Angels in the hand of a Mediator: Is the Law then against the promises of God? God forbid. But before faith came, we were kept under the Law, shut up unto the faith, which should after be revealed.*

Gal. 3. 19, 21, 23.

Now the strength of the Objection seems to bear against the multitude of the Children of *Israel*, and not against any choice men amongst them; who (for all this Objection) as they drew nearer, might

might see the clearer into this mystery of Christ, on coming. But I shall endeavour to take things in such an order, that that which remains of the former Objection, may go off as well satisfied as can be with this that cometh last.

CHAP. XXVIII.

What resemblance the Ark bore unto an Altar; and how the Altar of Burnt-Offering was sanctified by it. That a Censer was only a necessary Utensil, belonging to the Holy of Holies, to be used once a Year. That the whole Temple was hallowed by the Covenant and Mercy-seat, shewed by Solomon's *Dedication of it.*

OF the whole Law, how far it is a priviledge or a burthen, a light or a veil, (that I may not too much anticipate the design that I have in hand) there will be a proper place hereafter. In the mean while, whatsoever was defective (ἐν ἁγίοις) in the Sanctuary, was supplied (ἐν ἁγίοις ἁγίων) in the Holy of Holies, or most holy place. And whatsoever blindness happened to the Heb. 9. 2, 3.

later Jews, it was not so much by the Veil, that *Moses* drew over his own face (which was, as it were, but of Cypress) as by the grosser Veils, that the Scribes and Pharisees, in the later times, had drawn over all.

Lev. 16. On the tenth Day of the seventh Month, *Tyri* or *September*, the High Priest was to make an atonement for the people by Sacrifice, *to cleanse them, that they might be clean from all their sins before the Lord.* But this was to be done the same Day, after he had performed all that was required to be done in the Holy of Holies.

He was first to make an atonement without, for himself and for his house, by a Sin-Offering, which was to be a Bullock. Then he was to carry a *Censer full of burning Coals of fire from off the Altar, with his hands full of incense within the Veil, where he was to burn it upon the Coals, that the Cloud of the incense may cover the mercy-seat that is upon the testimony,* [thus it resembleth the Altar of incense, as it was in form somewhat like it] *and he shall take of the bloud of the Bullock, and sprinkle it with his finger Eastward; and before the Mercy-seat shall he sprinkle of the bloud with his finger seven*

seven times [thus doth he dedicate it to the Lord with some of the same Ceremonies that he used towards the Altar of Oblation] *Then shall he kill the Goat of the Sin-Offering that is for the people, and do with that blood as he did with the former, sprinkling the blood upon the mercy-seat, and before it. And then he shall there make an atonement even for the Sanctuary it self, because of the uncleanness of the Children of Israel, and because of their transgressions in all their sins.* In fine, (as if this were the Altar of Altars *, that imparted holiness * unto both the other, as well as unto all the people) *he shall go out* [again] *unto the Altar that is before the Lord, and make an atonement for it, and shall take of the blood of the Bullock, and of the blood of the Goat, and put it upon the horns of the Altar round about. And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it with his finger seven times, and cleanse it, and hallow it from the uncleanness of the Children of Israel.* And then, to the Sacrifice of atonement mentioned before.

* * *Quod facit talè, id magis est talè.* So that if we suppose a third Altar, we do not *erigere Altare contra Altare*; but rather set all three to agree in one, according to the Mystery of the Triniry.

Now because St *Paul* reckons that there was a golden Censer (which belongs to an Altar) within this Holy of Holies, whereof there was no need, since the Priest carried one in with him; it

might occasion that errour of St *Augustine*'s, that the Altar of incense was in this most holy place; which is sufficiently detected by *Cunæus*. And when Expositors have toiled much about this superfluous Censer; it may be it was but for Ornament alone, as the multitude of Palm-Trees and Cherubims, with which *Solomon* adorned the Oracle; whereas *Moses* had ordained two only Cherubims at the ends of the Ark it self. Or else St *Paul* might intend no other than that which the Priest brought in (as the only Utensil belonging unto the service of that place) though he carried it out again.

P. Cun. l. 2. c. 4.

But it was not once a Year only that the Mercy-seat and the Covenant were of any use unto this people. For if the Altar of Sacrifice was (* *Asylum*) a certain refuge whereunto to flee, and to repair for succour; this was much more, both for all the people, and for each particular person, in ordinary and in extraordinary, whether at home or abroad. Let us mark how they might use it.

* *Non solum urbes Levitarum Asyli gaudebant privilegio, verum & Altare Templi, licèt perquam dispari, tum respectu sacinorum, tum & more, &c.* Joan. Seld. de jure Nat. & Gent. juxta Heb. lib. 4. cap. 2.

This awful place, into which the High Priest might not presume to enter above once in the year, at the time appointed,

pointed, not without Typical bloud (to ſafeguard him) and incenſe (to procure a gracious acceptation, by the interceſſion of the immaculate Lamb, ſlain from the beginning of the World) *leſt he dye* (as it is twice ſaid in the ſame Chapter) gave its dignity unto all the Temple. Levit. 16. 2, 13.

So that when *Solomon* had finiſhed the whole, *he ſtood before the Altar of the Lord* [upon a Brazen Scaffold, which he had erected] *and kneeling down in the preſence of all the Congregation, he prayed, ſaying, Lord God of Iſrael, who keepeſt Covenant and mercy* (there being little comfort in the one without the other, as alſo to ſhew us that it was the Covenant and the Mercy-ſeat together that was the glory of the whole) *although the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain thee, much leſs this houſe that I have built*; yet have thou reſpect unto the prayer of thy Servant, O Lord my God, (which Pronoun poſſeſſive is to be obſerved as bearing reſpect to the promiſe that he had mentioned before, made unto his Father *David*) *that thine eyes may be open toward this houſe night and day, even toward the place of which thou haſt ſaid, My name ſhall be there. And hearken thou to the ſupplication of thy people Iſ-* 1 Kings 8. 22. & 2 Chron. 6. 12, &c.

rael, when they ſhall pray toward this place, and when thou heareſt, forgive, and relieve, reckoning up the needs that might happen. And among the reſt of his petitions, *what prayer or ſupplication ſoever be made by any man, or by all thy people Iſrael, which ſhall know every man the plague of his own heart,* (and not of his Body only) *and ſpread forth his hands towards this houſe; then hear thou in Heaven thy dwelling place, and forgive, and do; moreover, concerning a Stranger that is not of thy people Iſrael,* (that it might be known that this houſe was alſo ſacred unto him, in whom all the Nations of the Earth were to be bleſſed) *but cometh out of a far Country for thy names ſake; (for they ſhall hear of thy great name) hear thou in heaven thy dwelling-place, and do according to all that the Stranger calleth unto thee for.* Which proved a Rule (if not miſtaken) in after-times to admit Heathen Princes to offer Sacrifices in the Temple.

This is therefore the frequent compellation (or adjunct to the bleſſed Attributes) of God in the Old Teſtament, *who keepeth Covenant and mercy.* If you pleaſe to know how often, the Concordances are at hand; to which I may refer

fer you with favour, and not oblige my Reader to pay twice for a ſingle ſatisfaction. Only this remains to be enquired into, What Covenant they meant, and with what reſpect unto the Temple.

CHAP. XXIX.

They intended that Covenant which God had made with Abraham, Iſaac *and* Jacob, *by the ſign of Circumciſion, (and not that which they conſented to when they received the Law) upon which fundamental Covenant it was that God proclaimed his Attributes of mercy to them; yet they were bound to renew their own Covenant when they ſought for mercies. The preſence of God in the Temple an Object of their faith; of which preſence Chriſt was the Angel, otherwiſe known by the name of the loving kindneſs or tender mercies of God, to which they truſted more than to any of their ſervices.*

ONCE we may be ſure, that it was not that part of the Covenant which they had broken, which was *added becauſe of tranſgreſſions*, or annexed

as a Codicil unto the first Testament, to keep them in awe, and fear of sinning, by its threatnings, they being always prone to trespass upon the God of *Israel*: But the Covenant which they intended was that *which was confirmed before of God in Christ*, *viz.* with *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, their Progenitors, *till the Seed should come to whom the promise was made.* So that when *David had brought the Ark, and set it in the midst of a Tent, which he had pitched for it, they offered Burnt-sacrifices, and Peace-offerings before God:* and then he delivered the hundred and fifth Psalm unto *Asaph* and his Brethren, to be tuned by them unto praise, in which there is this special passage, *O ye seed of Israel his servant, ye children of Jacob his chosen ones; Be ye mindful always of his Covenant: the word which he commanded to a thousand Generations. Which Covenant he made with Abraham, and his Oath unto Isaac. And confirmed the same unto Jacob for a Law, and to Israel for an everlasting Covenant.* Unto all which the temporal promise of the Land of *Canaan* (a Type of the eternal rest) is join'd and knit.

Gal. 3. 17. 19.

1 Chron. 16.

But in the Psalm, v. 6. it is, *O ye seed of Abraham his Servant*——

Upon which fundamental Covenant it

it was that *God proclaimed the name of the Lord*, at the ſecond giving of the Law, in this manner, *The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth, keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving iniquity, tranſgreſſion and ſin.* Exod. 34. 5, 6.

This is the Covenant that they were to flee to in all their adverſities, ſo as ſtill to renew their own, which they had made with God by the mediation of *Moſes*, when the Law was given. In ſuch manner, as we may read diſtinctly in the examples of *Joſiah*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and whatever Reformers or Reſtorers there were beſides. All the Sacrifices of their Land were of no avail to appeaſe or pleaſe God, without this. And this was to be done either in the Temple, with their faces towards the Mercy-Seat; or towards the Temple, when they were at a diſtance from it. This was the uſe of the Covenant of mercy, as to all the people: Let us ſee next what the faith of particular men might be, and of what uſe or help, this *within the Veil.* 1 Kings 23. Ezra 8. Nehem. 8. & 9.

It was the Object of *Jonah*'s faith directly, *I ſaid, I am caſt out of thy ſight, yet will I look again toward thy holy Temple:* Jonah 2. 4. 7.

ple: When my soul fainted within me I remembred the Lord, and my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy Temple. "Of
Lect. 11. on *Jonah.* "all places (saith Archbishop *Abbot*) he "pitcheth on the Temple, where God "had put his name, and was more appa- "rently conversant by his special Grace. "Which did make that House and City "to be counted an holy Mansion, the "joy of the Earth, the beauty of the "World, the Palace of the Great King, "the delight, Paradise and Garden of "the Highest. There was the Ark of "the Covenant, the Tables of the Te- "stimony, [that we may not take these latter alone to be the whole Covenant] "the Cherubims and the Mercy-Seat, all "being strange things of much excellen- "cy: But the summity of all happiness "was the residence of God's favour "there.... Wherefore the Jews obser- "ved this evermore in the earnestness "of their prayer, in what land soever "they were, to turn them toward the "Temple; not tying superstitiously the "power of God to that place, but "knowing that the same house was not "erected in vain. And witnessing "withal their obedience unto the Lord, "and to men the constancy of their pro- "fession,

" ſeſſion, who held that place as the " Seal of the Lord's aſſured protection " over them. So when *Daniel* in *Chal-* Dan. 6.10.
" *dæa* would pray, he ſet his Windows " open toward *Jeruſalem*, to the hazard " of his life. Let us therefore next conſider his example.

When *Daniel* knew by Books, that Dan. 9.
the ſeventy years were expired, he ſet his face toward the Temple (though it was demoliſhed, becauſe the bleſſing was that way ſtill, and a promiſe of its reſtitution) and prayed, ſaying, *O Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the Covenant and mercy to them that love him, and to them that keep his Commandments.... To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesſes, though we have rebelled againſt him. O Lord, according to all thy righteouſneſs, I beſeech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy City Jeruſalem, and cauſe thy face to ſhine upon thy Sanctuary that is deſolate, for the Lord's ſake.* Which if any one think to be not the ſame as if he had ſaid, *For Chriſt's ſake*, who was wont to dwell in the Sanctua-

Nos cum Synodo Sardicenſi ſimpliciter hæc verba accipimus, Propter Dominum, h. e. propter Meſſiam, ſive Chriſtum. Junius in locum. *Eadémque fuit in Veteri & Novo Teſtamento ſalutis impetrandæ ratio. Nec Judæi hîc reſiſtunt, quo minus hæc verba de Meſſia intelligantur.* Varii.

ry,

ry, that lyeth now in ruines, it might be fit to put him in mind of our Saviour's Question to the Pharisees, *saying, What think ye of Christ, whose Son is he? They say unto him, The Son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine Enemies thy footstool? ---And no man was able to answer him a word.* The Prophet said, *I beseech thee, O Lord, for the Lord's sake*; the Question is, For what Lord's sake? or what congruity in the sense? For the words are not, I beseech thee for thine own sake, or for thy mercy-sake; But *for the Lord's sake*: Neither is it questioned, but that the Lord Christ was revealed to the Prophets, in a great measure; nor yet that their Writings were so obscure, as that others besides themselves understood nothing of the meaning of them: for they were written (as all Scripture) for instruction, which has been pointed at before.

There are indeed of opinion that hold, That by the Types they were little the wiser; but by the Prophets, they knew to the very Day of Christ's coming,

ing, not only that he was to be the Son of *David*; but also the Son of God: A Notion common unto all that expected the *Messias* in any manner. Matth. 14. 33. —26. 63. —27. 43, 54.

But, ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, to speak the rest in a word, What is the Son of God, but the loving kindness and mercy of the Father, begotten in himself by eternal Generation, to be made manifest in the flesh, according to the time appointed by the Father? In this loving kindness (therefore) and tender mercies of God, with respect to him that was to come, they put their trust; even as we do, in the same mercies, through him, that is come since, and now for ever liveth to make intercession for us. Joh. 1.49. —6.69. —11. 27. —20. 31, &c.

So that in their prayers there was nothing but the name of Christ concealed, because it was not yet revealed to them; the same Petitions, the same Arguments, and the like Confessions. In all which, if there were not a Syllable of Christ, how could we use the same Forms and Phrases still? If they were not according to the Spirit of Christ, how could we be sanctified or comforted by the Scriptures of the Old Testament? A thing that hath been little weighed by the *Antinomians*, when they spake so contemptibly

contemptibly of an Old Testament-Spirit, as if it were all legal, and of bondage only in blindness and darkness.

Alas! they knew as well as we, that faith and repentance (whether with or without Sacrifices or other outward services) was the only way to please God: Neither had they any Sacrifices, but if it were a Sin-Offering, the Offerer was bound to *put his hand upon the head of the Burnt-Offering.* Which was accounted amongst them to have been a Rite of transmission, as it were, of the man's sin unto the Sacrifice that was to dye for him (which was a Figure of the transferring of our sins on Christ.) And in laying of his hands on the Bullock's head, he confessed his sin after this manner, *I have sinned, I have done perversely, I have rebelled, and done thus or thus; but I return by repentance before thee, and let this be my atonement.* And once a year they had a scape-goat let loose with *all their sins into the Wilderness,* to teach them that God delighted not in the bloud of Beasts; and that there was another mean to do away their sins, besides the slaying of the dumb Creature.

Levit. 1. 4. & 3. 13. & 4. 24. Dr *Lightfoot's* Temple-Service, ch. 8. sect. 1. Et *Outr.* l. 1. c. 15.

Levit. 16. 9. 22.

For if it had been otherwise, what should

ſhould *David* have done, when he was convicted by the Prophet of his two great ſins, of murder and adultery? *All the Beaſts of the Foreſt, and the Cattel upon a thouſand Hills* (which were all God's own) had not been enough to ſacrifice for the expiation of ſuch ſins as thoſe. Wherefore he ſaith, *Thou deſireſt not Sacrifice, elſe would I give it; Thou delighteſt not in Burnt-Offering.* How then? *The Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit. Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindneſs, according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my tranſgreſſions..... Waſh me, and I ſhall be whiter than Snow. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right ſpirit within me. Caſt me not away from thy preſence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Reſtore unto me the joy of thy ſalvation, and uphold me with thy free Spirit.* Pſal. 30. 10, 11. Pſal. 51.

Nor was this a myſtery known only unto choicer men: For one of the Scribes approving of our Lord's Anſwer, when he had told him which were the two great Commandments, replyed, Well, Maſter, thou haſt ſaid the truth; for to love God with all the heart and ſoul, and to love his Neighbour as himſelf, Mark 12. 32, 33.

ſelf, is more than all whole Burnt-Offerings and Sacrifices.

And if that paſſage of *Iſaiah* be well conſidered, it will ſhew us what kind of piety it was that did impregnate the Spirits of the people of God from *Moſes* unto Chriſt: *I will mention the loving kindneſſes of the Lord, according to the great goodneſs towards the houſe of Iſrael, which he hath beſtowed on them, according to his mercies, and according to the multitude of his loving kindneſſes: for he ſaid, Surely they are my people: ſo he was their Saviour. In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the Angel of his preſence ſaved them. In his love, and in his pity he redeemed them, and he bare them, and carried them all the days of old.* Wherein the Church ſtandeth clear off from any merits of her Progenitors; or of *Moſes*, *Aaron*, and the Prophets, relying only on her Saviour, the Angel of the preſence of the God of *Iſrael*. They believed therefore in Chriſt as we do, only by the name of the tender mercies of God, both for pardon and for every Grace beſide.

Iſai. 63. 7, 8, 9.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Christ cloathed in his Word and promises, the adequate Object of saving faith; which he was to them as well as unto us: No naked Christ without these: No plerophory without them. So much of any promise as the Ancients laid hold of, so much of Christ they received in an implicit manner. There is somewhat implicit in faith, even in these days too.

NOW if Faith be to be defined *per modum* πληροφορίας (as some Divines have followed *Calvin* over strictly in such a Notion, from which they are much come off of late) to be a certain full perswasion of particular Election in Christ; I must confess I know not how to accommodate such a faith to the times of the Old Testament; or to find that they had (then) an agreeable faith unto such as are of that perswasion. Or if the Object of Faith be precisely (and abstrusely) set, to be the very person of Christ, a naked Christ, divested (almost) of his Word and Ordinances; I shall not be able to make out

Ut Beza, Zanchius, &c. ut etiam videre est in Tactic. sacr. D. Arrowsmith.

any thing that way neither.

But as the *Lutherans* ſpeak about their Conſubſtantiation, that *Chriſtus veſtitus*, Chriſt clothed in the Elements, is there received by the worthy Communicant; ſo I doubt not but I may ſafely ſay, that *Chriſtus veſtitus verbo ſuo*, Chriſt clothed with his own Word, ever was and is the adequate Object of the Faith of all Ages; wherein he was and is received to ſalvation, and to all other ends and purpoſes whatſoever. More eſpecially according to the meaſure of promiſes, as they have been revealed, and made from time to time *.

* *Credidérunt quidem in Chriſto per promiſſa, & prophetias partim revelato: intra Cherubinos tamen, & in Typis, aliter velato.*

I think I have gone ſomewhat near to prove to indifferent men, that many of the Saints of the Old Teſtament had a greater inſight into the main ſcope of the very promiſe about the perſon and merits of Chriſt, than divers men might have thought before; and that they had the right uſe of their faith unto juſtification, as we have now. The only Point wherein it may ſeem that ſome may ſtick, is, whether in the multitude it was not a confuſed faith, and not diſtinct enough to be what ours muſt be.

To

To this therefore it is to be considered, That saving faith relyeth not on any one promise whatsoever (abstractedly) by it self; nor yet that all the promises which are certainly to be believed are of use to all men: so that all together are of no more consequence unto us than unto them.

Next it is to be remembred what St *Paul* tells us, that *all the promises of God in Christ are Yea, and in him Amen.* So that how much or how little soever the Saints of the Old Testament embraced of the promises, they embraced of Christ, as implicitly contained in them: which wrought in them the like obedience, hope and perseverance as in us, so as to carry them beyond carnal things, to the things heavenly and spiritual. Which St *Paul* (again) elaborately proves to us, in the eleventh to the Hebrews; and that they looked more towards that Seed wherein all the Nations should be blessed, and *another Country and City, which hath foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God*, than towards the Land of *Canaan.* And all the Worthies which he reckons up, he says *obtained a good report through faith, having not received the* [special] *promise,*

2 Cor. 1. 20.

Heb. 11. 10, &c.

God having provided ſome better thing for us, that they without us, ſhould not be made perfect.

In fine, we ſhall find ſomewhat that is implicit in the beſt faith of any of ours; and if we ſhall conſider how ſhort that faith may be, which others of ours may have, (unto ſalvation too) and ſo compare it with theirs, we ſhall think the leſs ſtrange of any thing that has been ſaid of theirs before.

Do we not all believe the Goſpel, not knowing how much may be contained in it? Do we not engage our ſelves in Baptiſm to obey, not knowing what ſhall be required of us? Like *Abraham*, who when he was called, obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went. Are we not in frequent doubts and fears both about the promiſes that we embrace as we are able, and about our practice, to be ordered ſo that at laſt we may obtain them? Was it a weak faith in that Martyr, that went drooping to the Stake, not ſo much for fear of death, as for the preſſure of deſertion that then lay upon him? And yet he durſt not recant to ſave all, (as they might think) both Soul and Body too. But the Spirit of Glory came upon him

in

in an inſtant to bear him up above all. In fine, when we ſhall conſider how many of ours that have ſome faith of adherence (as we otherwiſe diſtinguiſh) and, in the judgment of Charity, do ſtand fair towards ſalvation in the end, are ignorant of the myſtery of Chriſt, whom they profeſs; not knowing how to apply themſelves to the mercies of God, through him alone, nor the Vertue of his merits, or benefit of his interceſſion for them; in a word, nor the power of his death and reſurrection in any comfortable meaſure to their own ſouls; what need we wonder much, though it be ſaid, That (as *many which were firſt ſhall be laſt, and many of the laſt, firſt*, ſo) the Saints of the Old Teſtament ſhall be found in compariſon with us at the latter Day? For better were thoſe of them who knew how to apply the mercies of God in Chriſt, not knowing the name of Chriſt; than ſuch of ours as have heard the ſound of the Goſpel, and do not underſtand ſo much of the meaning of it, as they before.

CHAP. XXXI.

Wherein the Saints of the Old Testament could not attain to so much as hath been since revealed. That the generality of them were blinded most (1.) *by God's Providence, who would have Christ to come in the worst times, that he might be crucified; and so obtain his Kingdom. And that the Disciples themselves should be held in like obscurity with other misled Disciples of the Scribes, lest they should indiscreetly offer to hinder the ministry of Christ.* (2.) *By Satan's malice, to work the destruction of the* Jewish *Church and people; chiefly by the perverseness of the Pharisees. Different apprehensions concerning* Jewish *Learning. The close of this Argument.*

BUT here the Objectors may close again, and say, Is there (then) no priviledge or no advantage by the Gospel? or by the explicit faith of Christ, exhibited in the New Testament, more than there was before? Has St *Paul* magnified his own ministry, and this ministration all in vain?

God

God forbid! But it is not within my verge (in this place, though I have ſtretched to bring in this Queſtion) to ſhew the difference betwixt the two Teſtaments; but only in diſcovering the ſtate of the firſt, to manifeſt that they had the faith of Chriſt amongſt them. But for a better reliſh in the Cloſe, I will adde a paſſage or two of the Fathers, whoſe Authority may go further than any Comments of my own.

Saint *Auguſtine* thus, "Although the "Prophets conceived much pleaſure, "when in the Spirit they foreſaw the "things to come concerning Chriſt; yet "they would (if it could have been) have "lived in the ſame times with us; and "to have ſeen thoſe things fulfilled "which they propheſied by the Spi-"rit.

Licet magnam jucunditatem habuerint Prophetæ, quando in Spiritu videbant futura de Chriſto, tamen voluerunt, ſi fieri poſſet, in hoc tempore nobiſcum vivere, & videre impleta, quæ Spiritu prophetabant. Præf. in Pſal. 96.

And St *Bernard* upon thoſe words of our Saviour [*Bleſſed are your eyes, for they ſee; and your ears, for they hear: for verily I ſay unto you, that many Prophets and righteous men have deſired to ſee theſe things which ye ſee, and have not ſeen them; and to hear theſe things which ye hear, and have not heard them*] deſ-

Matth. 13. 16, 17.

Quare voluerunt videre, & audire? Ut videlicet clarius, largiúsque perciperent, quod vix tenuitèr obscuréq; præsenserant. Alioqui quid erat opus, foris videre carnem, & carnis audire sermones, si intus à Spiritu fuerint instructi perfectè de omnibus? Epist. 77. ad Hug. de S. Victore.

canteth thus, "Why would they see "and hear? To wit, that they might "perceive more clearly and largely that "which they scarcely discerned, but slen- "derly and obscurely before. For what "need had there been to see with their "fleshly eyes, and to hear with their "outward ears, if they had been in- "wardly and perfectly instructed as "much before as they could ever learn "thereafter?

There remains nothing to be cleared more, but what is shadowed by the Veil of *Moses*, in the latter end of the last Objection: For if the Veil of Ceremonies was but thin, and the Prophecies so clear; why were all the Jews so ignorant, especially the Disciples of our Lord himself, about any true or proper thing relating to *Messias* when he came?

It hath been hinted before, that they generally knew how he was to be both the Son of God, and the Son of *David*, to be born at *Bethlehem*, and to be the greatest Prophet and King that they ever had. Now it is a further Question among

among the Schoolmen (to whom I may refer you) whether *Moſes* knew more of the *Meſſias* to come than *Abraham*, and *David* more than both: and ſo onwards of all the Prophets, home unto *John* the Baptiſt, even as his coming was the nearer. But I confeſs my opinion carries me to think, That the Prophets ceaſing after *Malachi*, and the *Phariſees* ariſing to repute under the firſt beginnings of the *Maccabees*, (which will be noted in its place) and not long after combining with the Scribes to the corruption of the true Religion; that this myſtery was on purpoſe veiled (more than before) by the Providence of God, and malice of the Inſtruments of Satan.

(1.) By God's Providence, who would have the Reſtorer to appear in the worſt of times. *Could the Son of man then* (any more than at his ſecond Coming) *find faith upon the Earth?* If they had known him generally, durſt the reſt of them have *crucified the Lord of life and glory?* Wherefore when St *Peter* preached to their conviction, that they might not be driven to deſpair, but to repentance of ſuch a ſin; he is permitted thus to inſinuate with them, *And now,*

Luke 18. 8.

Acts 3. 15. 17.

now, Brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as alſo did your Rulers. And had not Chriſt ſuffered, and ſo entred into Glory, how could he have obtained the Kingdom promiſed of his Father?

So that leſt the Diſciples themſelves (that had been trained under the Pædagogy of the Scribes and Phariſees) ſhould become impertinent Hinderers of their Maſters ways, if they had known to what they tended; the ſpiritual myſteries of Chriſt were ſparingly delivered to them before he ſuffered, and fully after he was riſen. Once, when our Saviour had ſaid unto them, (ſomewhat to prepare them for a change) *Let theſe ſayings ſink down into your ears; for the Son of man ſhall be delivered into the hands of men; they underſtood not this ſaying, but it was hid from them, that they perceived it not: and they feared to ask him of that ſaying.* And again, when *Jeſus began to ſhew unto his Diſciples how he muſt ſuffer and be killed, and riſe again the third day: Peter took him up, and began to rebuke him, ſaying, Be it far from thee, Lord; this ſhall not be unto thee.* (for *Peter* meant to fight for him) *But Jeſus turned, and ſaid unto Peter, Get thee*

Luke 9. 44, 45.

Matth. 16. 21, 22, 23.

thee behind me Satan, thou art an offence unto me: for thou ſavoureſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that be of men. Such a check had never truſty *Peter*, or any of the Diſciples before. But after his reſurrection, *he began from Moſes and all the Prophets, and expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himſelf.* Luke 24. 27.

(2.) As for the malice of Satan, and his Inſtruments. He himſelf could have no greater ſtratagem (ſo far as he could diſcern the tokens of Chriſt's coming, more than mortal men) than to blind their eyes before-hand, that they might not know the day of their viſitation; but that they might be defeated, and diſappointed of all their perverted, carnal expectations, and ſo become offended in him to the death: In fine, that by the murder of the Son of God, he might bring many ſouls to Hell; and the ancient people and Church of God to final ruine and deſtruction, as ſhortly after happened. And who knows but Satan might underſtand the Prophecies of theſe things, and ſo ſet himſelf to work, as the readier inſtrument to bring them all about, as he deſired?

But for his Under-Inſtruments, they chiefly

chiefly were the Scribes and Pharisees, whose corruptions our Saviour therefore bends himself to discover and reprove on all occasions. And if you ask me, what could they do? I answer, they had in a long tract of time before, put such carnal glosses on the Scripture, out of their designs (sometimes against their own Princes, sometimes against the *Romans*; but always to get both gain and authority among the people of the *Jews*) that sitting in the Chair of *Moses*, as Expounders of the Law and of the Prophets; they utterly perverted the true sense and meaning thereof: and that especially about the *Messias*, who was generally expected (almost throughout the whole *Roman* Empire, and beyond it) when he came. And when he was come, who should be enquired of but the Pharisees whether he was indeed the Christ, or no? And they generally denied him; for the Character of his Person agreed not with their ancient Glosses, or their present ends or interests.

Matth. 2. 4.

And here I cannot omit what different Notions learned men have of the *Jewish* Rabbins, especially of such whose Writings remain as accounted written before our Lord was born, or shortly after.

after. *Cunæus* ſaith, That their authority was always great among ingenuous and prudent men, as oft as any Queſtion doth ariſe about their Countrey-Rites and Ceremonies. And another ſpeaks thus, "Let all blind and bold Expoſitors know, that if they expound not "many Phraſes and things in the New "Teſtament out of the old Records of "Jewiſh Writings or Cuſtoms, they ſhall "but fanſie and not expound the Text, "as may be confirmed, ſaith *Scaliger*, "*ſexcentis Argumentis*, by very many Arguments. And what account Mr *Hugh Broughton*, Mr *Selden*, and Dr *Lightfoot*, have made of theſe (it may be becauſe they could have no better) appeareth by their elaborate Collections from them. On the other hand *Chemnitius* (whom Mr *Vines* eſteemeth as the learnedſt of all the *Lutherans*) hath entred abundant caution with us about theſe Writings of the *Jews*.

Talmudicorum omnium, Rabbinorumque graviſſima judicia, ſemper apud omnes cordatos permagnum pondus habuêre, quoties de Patriis Ritibus eorum, Ceremoniiſque, orta diſceptatio eſt. l. 2. c. 4.

Mr *Vines* in his Treatiſe of the Sacram^t, chap. 1.

Alib. in l. præd.

"The Diſputation (ſaith he) about "unwritten Traditions, whether to be "joined or oppoſed to the Scriptures, is "no new thing; but it is the very *pano-* "*plia* of *Jewiſh* perfidy againſt the Sword of

Chemn. in examp. 1. par. Conc. Trident. pag. 12. *Agens de ſimilitudine*

& affinitate Traditionum Pontificiarum, cum Phariſaicis & Talmudicis.

" of the Spirit, which is the Word of " God in the Scripture. That the pu- " rity of the ſound Doctrine of the " Word was corrupted amongſt them in " the time of Chriſt, the Evangelical " Hiſtory doth manifeſtly ſhew; and " that it ſprang partly from Oral Tradi- " tions, and partly from other holy " Books (ſo eſteemed) which they re- " ceived with the like veneration as the " other, is likewiſe to be gathered from

Matth. 15. 9.

" *their teaching for Doctrine the Com-* " *mandments of men.* (Which have e- ver uſed to be written.) " And if *An-* " *dradius* (againſt whom the Author writeth) " cannot bear the indignity, that " their Traditions ſhould be compared " with the Phariſees, which were but " falſe and feigned; whereas theirs are " derived by a continual ſucceſſion from " the Apoſtles themſelves; the *Jews*, " ſaith he, will be as ready to pretend " as much from *Moſes* and the Prophets " by a like ſucceſſion. And if the *Tal-* " *mud* had not firſt been written, I " ſhould rather have thought that the " *Rabbins* had learned from the Pontifi- " cians, than theſe from them,----*Ita au-* " *tem Commentum ſuum concinnant Tal-* " *mudici*: They feign, that at Mount " *Sinai*,

"*Sinai*, *Moſes* received from God, not "only what he wrote, *Verumetiam my-* "*ſticam*, *& arcanam Expoſitionem Legis*, "but alſo a certain myſtical and ſecret "Expoſition of the Law, which he nei- "ther wrote nor would have written, "but to be delivered by word of mouth "from one to another, and ſo to be "tranſmitted to Poſterity. And they "ſay further, that both of theſe are the "Word of God, and to be received "with the like veneration..... And "that after theſe had been long tranſ- "mitted from the Prieſts and Prophets, "(whoſe ſucceſſion they name) they "were thought fit (at laſt) to be com- "piled in the *Talmud*..... Unto whoſe "Expoſitors the poor *Jews* are in ſuch "bondage, that they muſt believe againſt "their own ſenſe and reaſon, whatſo- "ever their *Rabbins* do impoſe upon "them.

"And why the *Jews* are ſo zealous of "this *Talmud*, may be learned from the "circumſtance of time when it was "compiled: for when the *Jews* ſaw ma- "ny of their Nation converted to Chri- "ſtianity, by the evidence of the Scri- "pture; the *Rabbins* about the year "of Chriſt 150. began to write the "*Talmud*,

"*Talmud*, comprizing their Traditions. "Finding the ſucceſs whereof, they after "infinitely encreaſed the number of "them: ſo that few Jews were after that "converted to Chriſtianity.

So that in the opinion of *Chemnitius* all the errours and perverſeneſs of the ancient Phariſees are couched in the *Talmud* (which is one of the moſt ancient *Jewiſh* Books we have) The *Talmud* it ſelf has been repleniſhed and corrupted more than it was at firſt. All that is in it (howſoever) has given Rules and Bounds to all the *Rabbins* that have written ſince; from whence it follows, that we can hardly tell wherein to believe or truſt the moſt applauded of them. They contradict the Scriptures (often) in relating of their own Cuſtomes, and one another no leſs; and if any man thinks to illuſtrate one part of a Text by ſome of their ſuggeſtions, he may be as apt to leave the other darker than before. In fine, the *Jews* of later times know what they know of their own Rites by learning only, and have ever had concurrent Chriſtians to ſtudy with them, and exceed them, as the more concerned to gain ſuch knowledge, and to gainſay ſuch friends as they. But we are no

ſuch

ſuch Enemies unto Learning (howſoever) though we cannot get the light we ſeek from them, as to burn their Books for a blaze at once, and after that to ſtand in need of ſuch a Guide as we might have gotten (rather than none at all) in the Quarters of an Enemy.

And thus have I endeavoured (not to ſay all that may be ſaid, but) to travel through a Queſtion that hath ſometimes puzzled me before; and which being well cleared (if I have attained unto that happineſs) may prevent perplexities and more digreſſions, that may elſe befal me hereafter in my proceeding: But chiefly upon *Cunæus*'s encouragement, (who has offered fine things upon the ſame Subject) *viz.* "That this Point is "of great moment towards the inter-"pretation of the whole Bible, and "ſuch as doth deſerve to be diſcuſs'd "with diligence.

Dis illud inter homines eruditiſſimos diſceptatum eſt, quid de ſummo ſalutis auſpice ſperaverit olim, crediderítve antiquior illa Hebræorum Natio? Habet ea res magnum momentum ad veſtam interpretationem totius ſacri Codicis, adò latè patet illius ambitus. Lib. 3. cap. ult.

CHAP. XXXII.

Shewing the providence of God over his people Israel, *according to the Blessing promised of their multiplying; in respect of fruitfulness, and of protection in* Egypt *(however hardly used otherwise) from Famine, War and Pestilence. That the indulgence of Concubines might contribute much to the number of their encrease. That in an ordinary way of computation (without flying unto Twins, or any other miracles) out of seventy persons only, the Muster-Roll of* Moses *might easily arise.*

NOW when it had pleased God to sever from the Tents of *Abraham* and *Isaac* whom he pleased, and to plant them so as they might either afflict or befriend the House of *Israel* in the times to come; he brought the whole House of *Jacob*, by another Providential Famine, into *Egypt*, whither he had brought *Joseph* (as if he had been but a lost man) before, to provide for all the rest.

Gen. 46. 26, 27. It is said, that *all the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's Sons Wives, were*

were sixty six. And the Sons of Joseph, which were born to him in Egypt, were two souls: All the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were seventy. And again, Thy Father went down into Egypt with seventy persons. [or names] and now the Lord thy God hath made thee as the Stars of Heaven for multitude. Neither doth Josephus reckon more. But when they came forth of Egypt (after two hundred and nine years) the Children of Israel, being numbred from twenty years old and upward, were found to be six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty, all able to go forth to Battel: (Judge how many more the Women and Children might be.) And when the Tribe of Levi was numbred by it self, every Male from a month old and upward, it amounted to twenty two thousand more, (to which we may allow as many Females;) so that we can hardly imagine less than a million and an half of these people in the whole. And how this account may be stated to a reasonable man (to save him the labour of adjusting it) I have begg'd the assistance of a learned Gentleman, who hath obliged us both with this return. Which I give you clearly in the Postscript, as I received

Deut. 10. 22. שִׁבְעִים

Antiq. l. 2. c. 4.

Numb. 1. 45, 46.

Chap. 3. 15, 39.

it, though it seem in divers passages to contravene some of my own opinions, as they are here and there delivered in these Papers. See the Postscript, where the Contents intended in this Chapter are annexed.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That a great number came along with the house of Jacob; *for* Abraham *had a great Train,* Isaac *more,* Jacob *all they left, and such as he brought with him from* Padan-aram. *Six Objections propounded: And two fundamental Arguments for the Thesis.*

BUT if all *that* be not ample satisfaction, what if I should propound another thought (fortified with its probabilities) unto other searching Spirits? Which is, that the seventy names or persons were only of such as came out of *Jacob*'s loins, Heads of Families, which were to be the Princes of *Israel*; and that indeed a great number came along with them.

We cannot but remember what a Band of his own trained Servants, bred in

in his own Tents, *Abraham* carried forth against the Kings, when he reſcued *Lot*; and no doubt he left others with the Women and the Cattel at home. It ſeems to have been about thirty years after, that *Abraham* being much more encreaſed in wealth and power, was ſought unto by *Abimelech* to enter into League with him. And it was about a hundred years after (if my Chronologer gueſs well) before another *Abimelech* entred into the like Covenant with *Iſaac*; when *he ſowed in the land*, (which is more than *Abraham* had done) *and received in the ſame year an hundred fold, and waxed great, and went forwards, and grew until he became very great: for he had poſſeſſion of flocks, and herds, and great ſtore of Servants; ſo that the Philiſtines envied him.* Gen. 21. 22, 23. Dr Simſon. Gen. 26. 12, &c.

And as for *Jacob*, he returned out of *Padan-aram* (or *Meſopotamia*) to his aged Father *Iſaac* at *Hebron*, *where Abraham and Iſaac* (for the moſt part) *ſojourned*, with much more Cattel, and with *two Bands* in his Retinue; together with both his Wives (only *Rachel* fell in travail of *Benjamin*, and dyed by the way, falling ſhort of *Hebron* no more than *Bethlehem* is diſtant from it) Gen. 35. 27. —32.10.

and his twelve Sons, besides his Daughter *Dinah* (mentioned, it may be, on occasion only, and that *Jacob* might have more ‖; at least by *Bilhah* and *Zilpah*, the Concubines that his Wives had given him out of their emulation unto one another:) So that after *Isaac*'s death, he must needs be, not only enriched with the inheritance but, powerful in the number of * all his people. A specimen whereof we have in the attempt of *Simeon* and *Levi* (alone by themselves) who *took each man his sword and came upon the City of Shechem boldly, and slew all the males*; unless any man will have it so, that two single men stormed a walled City, and put all the males to the sword, who (however sore) might have been defended by the very Women in such a Case.

‖ See *Gen.* 46. 7. *Jacob came into Egypt with his Sons, and Sons Sons, his Daughters, and his Sons Daughters*, &c. yet again ver. 15. *Dinah* alone seems to make up the number of seventy souls.

* Chap. 37. 35. it is said, that all *Jacob*'s Sons, and all his Daughters, rose up to comfort him after *Joseph*'s loss.

Chap. 34. 25.

Now as the absence of *Jacob* from his aged Father before was very long, (some twenty years) so it is not to be expected that *Isaac*'s days should be extended much longer by the Providence of God; since the Heir of the Promise was restored home to him. "Of all the Pa-

Bish. *Hall.*

"triarchs,

"triarchs, none made so little noise in "the World as *Isaac*, none lived either "so privately, or so innocently. He u-"sed no Concubine, although *Rebekkah* "was twenty years barren..... And now that *Rebekkah*'s Darling was come back, he left all to him in the hundred and eightieth year of his life. Which *Jacob* managed, not above ten years longer (upon account) before he was enforced by God's Providence to descend into *Egypt* with all his house. The Question is, Whether they were but seventy Males in all (to wave the Question, whether they were so many, for some are of opinion that some of *Jacob*'s Sons Sons are reckoned by anticipation, and might for all that be born in *Egypt*, after they were planted in the Land of *Goshen.*) Let us hear what may be said on either side. And *first*, that they were but seventy precisely, or thereabouts, as St *Stephen* reckoneth. For, I. Acts 7. 14.

First, It is safe to keep to the Letter of the Scripture (in Historical Passages especially) and not to wire-draw it, or extend it more than needs; for fear of wresting, or of worser consequences that may be drawn from more remote constructions, than from the very words. Obj. 1.

Now of *Jacob* and his Sons it is expresly said,

Gen. 42. First, That *Jacob* sent his ten Sons (and no more) into *Egypt*, to buy Corn; by which it may seem, that he had no such number to spare as hath been suggested: Or that his Sons were but as the rest, by the errand that they went on.

Obj. 2. Secondly, When *Joseph* returned their monies, it was to every man in the mouth of his Sack; and being searched,

Chap. 44. upon their second return (when they had *Benjamin* with them) the search began from the eldest to the youngest, and could proceed no further, because (it seems) they were no more.

Obj. 3. Thirdly, Their dealing was for little, since so few Asses could carry what they came for; and their Sacks not so full, but that they could contain Provender besides: proving nothing else, but that these being laden, the poor Ass-Riders must go on foot home.

Obj. 4. Fourthly, By *Jacob*'s mean Present,

Chap. 43. 10, 18. and *Judah*'s fear of losing the Asses, when they were taken, it seems they were but poor; and so when *Joseph* returned an answerable Present with Waggons to his Father, to bring him into *Egypt*.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Beſides, that there may be no doubt of the number, it is carefully recorded how many came with *Jacob*, and were there before, *viz.* ſeventy ſouls. And ſo *Joſephus*, the Jewiſh Antiquary, doth account, and no more. Obj. 5. Gen. 46—

Sixthly, In fine, it would be a ſtrange extravagancy to put ſo many Supernumeraries (of we know not what Aliens) unto this account; which muſt needs reckon them to *Iſrael*, and the Seed of *Abraham*, (and ſo to the only Church of God;) or elſe give ſome other clear account what became of them at the laſt. Obj. 6.

Secondly, Notwithſtanding which Objections, we muſt hold, That *Iſrael* deſcended into *Egypt* with more than ſeventy perſons, by theſe two Arguments, (which will be proved by anſwering the Objections only) 1. Becauſe he deſcended with all his houſhold. 2. Becauſe he neither could nor ought to part with his circumciſed Servants, and their Wives and Children. II.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Certain Corollary Rules preliminary to the answering of the first Objection. That Jacob *sent his Sons to* Joseph, *as a foreign Prince, for a favour; but not unaccompanied; considering,* 1. *Their concern;* 2. *What weight of money they might take with them in so many Bundles, if only to lade ten Asses.* 3. *What the length and hazard of the way. The four next Objections briefly answered.*

TO the first good Rule, these others may be joined as succedaneous Corollaries. First, That the sense of the Scripture is its own authority, more than the Critical position of the words; warranted by several Quotations in the New Testament, out of the Old. Secondly, That necessary consequence is all one with the Text it self; neither was a good Inference ever sleighted. Thirdly, That in such Historical Passages of Scripture as do veil (or are invelop'd with) a mystery, we are, in a
Gal. 3. 22, 23. manner, directed to a further indagation by St *Paul*, where he tells us, (what else

else we should have hardly found) that one of *Abraham*'s Sons by a Bond-maid, and another by a free Woman, did by an Allegory exhibit to us the difference of state betwixt Mount *Sinai* and the New *Jerusalem*, or betwixt the Law and Grace, Bondage and Liberty. Fourthly, That by comparing Passages, one Scripture doth best expound another. After which Preliminaries, I address my self to answer the first Objection, thus:

First, It is still to be remembred, that it is above two hundred and ten years since *Abram* armed three hundred and eighteen trained Servants born in his own house, to pursue the Kings that had taken *Lot* Prisoner: And if seventy Persons only in two hundred and ten years (or thereabouts) might become such an incredible number, (as the possibility hath been demonstrated) what may we think of three hundred and eighteen more, in the same Family, Partakers of the like Blessings, so far as their encrease was the encrease of *Abraham*'s wealth and strength? But (not to be entangled with too many difficulties) to think modestly, *Jacob* could scarce have less than a thousand souls within his Tents. Answer to Object. 1.

Secondly, But why (then) did he send his

his ten Sons only, with their ten Aſſes, to buy Corn for them all? Could they bring enough? Or did they only bring for *Jacob*'s own Tent, and leave the reſt to live on Roots, or Nuts and Almonds, with which (it ſeems, by the Preſent, that) the Land abounded?

You muſt remember *Joſeph*'s Dreams,
Gen. 37. 7, 9. that *their ſheaves ſhould do obeyſance to his ſheaf, and the Sun and the Moon and the eleven Stars* alſo; and then you muſt conſider his preſent ſtate, and the condition of all the Nations thereabouts. *Jo-*
Ch. 41. 38. *ſeph* was advanced to be chief Miniſter of State under *Pharaoh*; and according to his own advice, he was appointed to take up the fifth part of the Land of *Egypt*, for ſeven years together, of plenty, againſt ſeven other to enſue of certain famine, according to the interpreta-
Ver. 54. tion of *Pharaoh*'s Dream. And when
Ch. 42. 1. the famine came in all parts, *Jacob heard that there was Corn in Egypt (for Joſeph had gathered Corn as the ſand of the Sea, very much, until he left numbring, for it was without number)* but not to be had, ſave only from the hands of *Pharaoh*, or his chief Miniſter; and therefore (you may know) he ſent his ten Sons (and not his Servants) to do their obeyſance for

for Corn; But not without Attendance, as we may eaſily collect from divers circumſtances: as, 1. From the Concern that they had; 2. From the money that they carried with them; 3. From the hazard of the Journey, and the length thereof.

As for their Concern, they had every man his own Family, and did not always eat in *Jacob's* preſence: Nor could they live on Nuts or Almonds any more than the *Egyptians* on their Fruits, who were forced to ſell their Lands, and their Perſons too, to *Pharaoh*, that they might have Bread. Gen. 47. 19.

For their money, every of the ten carried a Bundle in his Bag: Think you that a Bundle of Silver (as money went then) was but enough to buy one Aſſes burthen? Weigh the Bundle, and the burthen, and conſider! Ch. 43. 35. Ver. 21. *We opened our Sacks, and behold every mans money was in the mouth of his Sack, our money in full weight*——

For their Journey, it could be little leſs than two hundred miles directly from *Hebron* unto *Caire*: If they brought but each man an Aſs-Load, what might they ſpend by the way? Or what might they have to divide amongſt them when they came home? Certainly ſo little, that

that there would have been no end of going or coming; whereas (by virtue of what they brought) they were able to subsist (it seems) a good while e're *Jacob* could be prevailed with to venture *Benjamin*, though *Simeon* lay at stake till their return. And for the way, it was never to be passed without a lusty *Caravan*, for fear of the *Ishmaelites*, (of whose Progenitor it was said, That *he should be a wild man, and that his hand should be against every man, and every mans hand against him*) and the *Arabians*, who wanted Corn especially.

Gen. 16. 12.

Answer to Object. 2. And now the Answer is the easier to the second, *viz.* That in the search they went not so much by Pole, as by Companies, the Heads of which were the Leaders and the Purse-bearers for all the rest of their Retinue. And in *Benjamin's* own Sack (as it was designed) the prize was found.

Answer to Object. 3. To the third, we answer, That if there were any Servants at all, there might be Asses enough, so that the Masters needed not to foot it back, or to return home with so slender provision, as is imagined. And if there were no Servants, *Joseph* gave his Brothers not a little trouble when he gave them Wag-

Chap. 45. 21.

gons

gons also, without any one man (mentioned) to assist them.

It may seem rather by *Judah*'s fear about the losing of the Asses that they were not a few, than that his Father was poor; and for *Jacob*'s Present, let it be compared with other Presents of the same time; nay, with *Abigail*'s a long time after, when one would think that she should have stretched to pacifie the wrath of *David*. Answer to Object. 4. 1 Sam. 25. 18.

That the seventy are recounted only to keep the Genealogy of the Heads of *Israel*, wherein the Servants had no share. Answer to Object. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

The last Objection answered, by shewing, That the circumcised Servants were part of Jacob's *houshold, that could not be parted withal, without loss, scandal and prejudice to the Church of God; as being,* 1. *Children of the faith of* Abraham. 2. *Graffed into his Seed by intermarriages.* 3. *Distinct in Genealogy.* 4. *Yet (possibly) some snare unto the Israelites, by retaining a smack of their old Idolatry.*

Answer to Object. 6.

NOW I cannot be unsensible how loth some will be to admit many rude Herdsmen (who were still apt to be at debate with their Neighbours) into the number of *Abraham*'s Seed, the only Church of God; lest it should be prophaned by them, and prove an interruption to the promise: yet I must needs shew them, that these were no Aliens from the Commonwealth of *Israel*, but were really constitutive members of that growing Body.

1. I think it will not be questioned but that these were part of *Jacob*'s house or houshold, who dwelt in the Tents of

of *Jacob*: and then it is expreſly ſaid, that *Iſrael took his journey with all that he had. And Joſeph ſaid unto his Brethren, and unto his Fathers houſe,* (diſtinct from them) *I will go up, and ſay unto Pharaoh, My Brethren and my Fathers houſe, which were in the Land of Canaan, are come unto me. And the men are Shepherds; for their trade hath been to feed Cattel, and they have brought their Flocks and their Herds* (more than twelve men could manage) *and all that they have, that ye may dwell in the Land of Goſhen*, which was a fertile Tract about the mouth of the *Nile*, or the tongue of the Red Sea, neareſt unto *Canaan*, and neglected by the *Egyptians*. *For every Shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.* Out of ſuperſtition (ſay ſome) becauſe they worſhipped ſome ſort of Beaſts; and (ſay others) out of niceneſs, becauſe they more affected Towns and Trades. *And Joſeph placed his Father and his Brethren in the beſt of the Land, in the Land of Rameſes, as Pharaoh had commanded. And he nouriſhed them and all his Fathers houſhold with bread, according to their Families.* Which ſhews that ſome of the Servants alſo were of ſome account, and had

Gen. 46. 1, 31, &c.

Videſis Cun. de Rep. Heb. l. 1. c. 5.

Chap. 47. 11, 12.

their own Families, enough to people the rest of *Goshen*: So that *Joseph* wisely kept them at a distance from the sight of *Pharaoh*, for fear of State-jealousie.

2. As these could not be left behind without loss, so neither was it lawful for *Jacob* or his Sons to turn them off, or abandon them. For their Circumcision was an indelible Character; so that it would have been a reproach to *Israel* to have exposed any of his unto the Heathen, or to have cast them into temptation of revolting to Idolatry, after once they had been joined to the Church by the sign and seal of the righteousness of faith, even of the same faith with *Abraham*, in whose Seed all the Nations of the Earth were to be blessed; and these (in particular) as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, Children of the faith of *Abraham*, and Heirs of the better part of the promise; and not excluded from their lots in the other part neither, as we trust to shew hereafter. Neither was there need to put off these for any misdemeanour, since every Head of an house had power of life and death, and other punishments, and that without appeal to the Supreme, as is manifest in the Case of *Judah* and *Tamar*,

Gen. 38. 24.

Tamar, when it was told *Judah*, that ſhe was with Child of whoredom; ſaith he, *Bring her forth, and let her be burnt.* And though ſpecious things are ſaid about the ancient uſe of Excommunication in the Church; yet it ſeems to me, that hitherto (and long after) there was no cutting off from the people, but by death: wherefore an Angel met *Moſes* with a drawn Sword, and ſought to have ſlain him, for his neglect of circumciſing of his Child. Videſis Bertr. cap. 2. & *Godwin's* Jewiſh Antiquities, Book 5. chap. 2. Exod. 4. 24.

3. Nor let any one admire at this that follows. They became the Children of *Abraham* by a kind of adoption or inſition into the Stock of *Abraham*, by marrying of the Daughters of *Iſrael*; and ſo, in courſe of time, they became one Kindred with them. For who ſhould they give them to beſides? *We cannot give our Siſter to one that is uncircumciſed* (ſaid the Sons of *Jacob*) *for that were a reproach unto us. But if ye will be as we be, then will we give our Daughters unto you, and take your Daughters unto us, and we will dwell with you, and we will become one people.* Trouble not your ſelf about diſparagement; for they were *bene nati*, well-born, who were born in the ſame houſe; Gen. 34. 15, 16.

emancipate alſo (*tanquam liberi aut liberti*) by Circumciſion, and they lived all upon one Stock, ſo that there could not be any want amongſt them. But the truth is, the dignity of Degree and Pedegree went to the prime Deſcendents male, from the Loins of the twelve Patriarchs of *Iſrael*; which may ſeem to be the true reaſon why we find in the Geneſlogies ſuch an account as this, *viz. Theſe are the Sons of Ephraim* (for inſtance of one) *after their families, of Shuthelah, the family of the Shuthalhites; of Bacher, the family of the Bachrites; of Taban, the family of the Tabanites* —— And the reſt are numbred in groſs only, to be in all thirty two thouſand, and ſix hundred Families. But the Patriarchs themſelves were put to harder ſhift for Wives (even unto treſpaſs) becauſe they could not take their Siſters, or go any more to their Unkles houſes to be matched, as *Iſaac* and *Jacob* had done before. It remaineth (therefore) that theſe Hinds, Husbandmen, or Stewards (ſuch as *Eliezer* was to *Abraham*) were far from being Supernumeraries, or Aliens from the Covenant, or Church of God; and that they never went out of it after once they were called

Numb. 26. 35.

Gen. 15. 2.

called or brought in, and joined to it by the ſign of Circumciſion.

Only this may be doubted, *viz.* That theſe people (taken out of *Chaldea*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, or any other parts) and joined only by Circumciſion, (ſome of them (no doubt) by compulſion, leſt others ſhould be cut off for them) might not prove ſo good Members as could be wiſhed; but they retained ſtill a ſmack, and had an hankering after their old Idolatry. Which ſin continued uncontroulably amongſt all, (one ſeducing another) till the captivity of the Tribes: And after their return, when *Hyrcanus* forced the *Edomites* to be circumciſed, he prepared a way for *Herod* to come and to ſubvert their whole Eſtate. But however it was for that, God himſelf foreſaw theſe inconveniences; and yet he would not prevent them: as ſome of the Separation think they are able to do in their Societies, by ſo often drilling of them, that at laſt they loſe their firſt matter, order and conſiſtency.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That the simplicity of the Scripture (contrary to the Romances of the Heathen Writers) maketh little state of great Secular matters, relating to the Church; Shewed by instances of Abraham *and* Jacob; *yet* Joseph (*as a Statesman in* Egypt) *observed Ceremonies in the reception and introduction of his Father and Brethren. That the* Israelites *built not in* Egypt, *but by constraint.*

WE may see (in part) by this how little state the simplicity of the Scripture maketh of great matters, in things Secular, that are incident unto God's Elect; who are also as humble in themselves as Servants in all Conditions. For after *Abraham* had obtained a famous Victory over four Kings, that had (immediately) before been themselves victorious over five; we find him

Gen. 18. 1, &c. *sitting at his Tent-door in the heat of the day, and he espied three men, and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the Tent-door, and bowed himself toward the ground, and said, My Lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away,*

away, I pray thee, from thy Servant. Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and waſh your feet, and reſt your ſelves under the Tree. And I will fetch a morſel of bread. And Abraham haſtened into the Tent unto Sarah, and ſaid, Make ready quickly three meaſures of fine meal, knead it, and make Cakes upon the hearth, (as if poor *Sarah* had never a Maid to help her.) *And Abraham ſtood by them under the Tree, while they did eat —— And after they had eaten, Abraham went with them to bring them on the way.* And when he was to bury *Sarah*, and to ſue for a Sepulchre, *he bowed himſelf to the people of the Land, even to the Children of Heth*, who complemented him, ſaying, Hear us, my Lord, *Thou art a mighty Prince amongſt us: In the choice of our Sepulchers bury thou thy dead.* And when he ſent *Eliezer, the eldeſt Servant of his houſe, who ruled over all that he had*, he ſet him forth (indeed) in ſome Equipage, with Jewels and other Preſents, that he might obtain *Rebekkah* (the Daughter of *Bathuel*, the Son of *Nahor*, the Brother of *Abraham*) for his Son *Iſaac*. But *Rebekkah* (who was to be preſented with Jewels, and had ten Camels to bring the errand to her) is

Gen. 23. De Abrahamo magnifica etiam tradidêre Ethnici, ut Joſ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 9. & Euſeb. præpar. l. 9. Chap. 24.

Gen. 11. 26, &c. & 24. 15. 24.

brought forth with a Pitcher on her shoulder, as ready to make the Camels drink as the Stranger, wondring at the fine things, and straining no courtesie about accepting of them; but as coming and forward, as a simple Country-Lass: and her Brother *Laban* no less officious. Yet this *Rebekkah* it was that over-reached the Old Man *Isaac*, and her elder Son *Esau*.

Gen. 28. 1, &c. As for *Jacob* himself, though he went forth with his Fathers Blessing (and not by meer flight) on his way to *Laban*, his Mothers Brother; yet we read neither of Ass, nor Camel, nor Camerade, nor any Servant, given to attend him in his journey (which was for a Wife too, of one of *Laban*'s Daughters) and it was a long step further (I trow) than into *Egypt*. His adventures are thus described: first, *He lighted on a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the Sun was set; and he took the Stones of that place, and put them for his pillow, and lay down in that place to sleep.* And by his vision there, it appears no otherwise, but that he was alone; save only that it is said, *He took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a Pillar, and poured Oil upon the top of it.*

Which

Which it is not like that he ſhould carry about him, with other neceſſaries, unleſs you ſhould imagine him to have been a kind of Walking-Tavern in a Wilderneſs. However, that we may be aſſured that *Jacob* was not overmuch accommodated; let us hear his own devout acknowledgment unto God, *I am not worthy of the leaſt of all the mercies, and of all the truth which thou haſt ſhewed unto thy Servant; for with my Staff I paſſed over this Jordan, and now I am become two Bands.* Gen. 32. 10. "With a Staff (ſaith Biſhop *Hall*) "goes he over *Jordan*, "doubtful and alone, (not like the Son "of *Iſaac*) and is fain to lye *ſub dio*, "when an Angel appeared to comfort "him. And when *Laban* heard of his "Siſters Son, he might expect a like E-"quipage as fetch'd *Rebekkah*---- but "now as he comes, ſo he uſes him. He "fled from a cruel Brother to a cruel "Unkle: And as his Mother had cun-"ningly (by deceiving *Iſaac*) ſubſtitu-"ted him for Elder; ſo now *Laban* as "cunningly deceiveth him, by giving "him the Elder inſtead of the Younger, "whom he loved. Wonder not therefore that the Equipage of the Sons of *Jacob*, and of their whole deſcent into *Egypt*,

Egypt, is described without any pomp at all; for so I could lead you forward to *Gideon*'s Threshing-floor, and to *David*'s Flocks; and shew you how great things were always veiled, and good men lowly: But these also were both of the principal Families of *Israel*, as may be observed hereafter.

In the mean while, considering that *Joseph* was a great Courtier, and a Politician; and that we have observed his cunning in getting the fairest and fertilest Tract of the Land of *Egypt*, for his Father and his Brethren, on colour of their being Shepherds: In the next place let us note some of his Ceremonies (howsoever) whereby he wrought the ingratiating of his own Kindred with *Pharaoh* and his *Egyptians*.

Gen. 42. When his Brethren came first into his presence (he knowing them, but they not him) *they bowed down themselves before him, with their faces to the Earth*; knowing what kind of reverence the proud *Egyptians* did expect. *Then Joseph remembred the dreams which he had dreamed of them*, and like a crafty Statesman (to get what he could out of them, and to make them fit for what he presently apprehended) he spake roughly to them, and

and dealt as hardly, keeping them three days in ward, and ſpeaking to them by an Interpreter; nay, he took *Simeon* from them as a Pledge, and bound him before their eyes, and ſent them away (the firſt time) in fear.

But the next time, as ſoon as *Joſeph* Gen. 43. ſpied *Benjamin* in their Company, *he ſaid to the Ruler of his houſe, Bring theſe men into my houſe, and ſlay, and make ready* (a place that will trouble them to anſwer, who would perſwade us, as if the *Egyptians* then did eat no living Creature) *for theſe men ſhall dine with me at noon. Then he brought Simeon forth untothem*, (who, no doubt, looked never the worſe for his detainment) *And they made ready the Preſent againſt Joſeph came in, and made many low obeyſances*; but he ſpake very kindly to them.

Then that *Joſeph* might reſerve Dignity to himſelf in the ſight of the *Egyptians*, he cauſed himſelf to be ſerved at a Table of State; and that there might be no interfering, he cauſed his Brethren (knowing their ſcruples about eating of unclean meats, or with uncircumciſed men) to be ſerved at another Table by themſelves: And knowing alſo the ſuperſtition of the *Egyptians*, (who look-

ed

ed upon the *Hebrews* as prophane to them, as the *Egyptians* could be unto the *Hebrews*, if they did not also scorn them as Shepherds) he caused them to eat in the same presence apart; so that all admired, and there was no exception: but they drank and were merry, as *Joseph* had ordered the matter; and, no doubt, obtained favour with such *Egyptian* Courtiers as there were then admitted at the entertainment.

Gen. 46. 28. Now when *Jacob* drew near unto *Goshen*, he thought it a fit Ceremony, for his part, to send *Judah* before (as his Harbinger) to prepare for his reception by his Son *Joseph*, in the state wherein he then was. And *Joseph* hastened in his Chariot (to meet him as a Prince) and to do honour to his aged Father. And so instructed all his Company how to behave themselves before *Pharaoh*.

But since policy did require that *Pharaoh* should not see all, civility and gratitude seemed to prompt *Joseph* that he should present (at least) the chief of *Pharaoh*'s beneficiaries before his face; and he thought it enough to present but five of them to do or to receive that honour. It is like, the most personable and fashionable of his Brethren, that were

were the Sons of *Rachel* and *Leah*, rather than of the Concubines; who, we are not to doubt, made their reverence unto *Pharaoh*, as the Maſter of the *Egyptian* Ceremonies ſhould direct them.

But as for his venerable Father, he brought him in, (after them, which was ever eſteemed the more honour) *and ſet him before Pharaoh. And Jacob bleſſed Pharaoh*, (after his own way, whether as a Prince, and Prieſt of the moſt High God, or as a congratulation only of his favours.) And ſo when he went out (after ſhort communication by Interpreters) he bleſſed him again. And *Pharaoh* accepted of their addreſſes, and ſeems to have been pleaſed and ſatisfied with them. Gen. 47. 7, 10.

Thus was the way made for *Iſrael* and his Children, to be planted in *Rameſes*, (which I take to be a fenced place, with a Territory, ſituate upon the jaws of the ſeven-mouth'd *Nile*) and for his Hinds and Herdſmen to pitch where they liked in the Province of *Goſhen*. So the former of theſe needed Tents no longer; for when *Joſeph* ſent for them, he had ſaid from *Pharaoh*'s mouth, *Come unto me, and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt. Regard not your* Gen. 45. 20.

ſtuff;

ſtuff ye for the good of all the Land of Egypt ye yours.

'Tis true, the place might be called *Rameſes*, by anticipation, as that which was called *Luz*, was after called *Bethel*, by *Jacob*'s nomination; but that there was an habitable Town or City before *Jacob* came thither, I doubt not; both becauſe of *Joſeph*'s recommendation of his Father to a good place, and becauſe of the ſituation of it, as a neceſſary Fortreſs againſt Out-livers of another Nation. However, ſome are of opinion, that the *Iſraelites* themſelves might build that City (as the *Engliſh* did *Calais*) while they were in *Egypt*, (before the Exod. 1. 11. Task-maſters ſet them to work to fortifie it more, as a Treaſure-City, and a Bridle to themſelves, from eſcaping, as well as to keep out others) againſt common ſence; for throughout their proſperity they were inſtructed that the Land of *Canaan* was their inheritance, expecting (daily) as good a Call to return out of *Egypt*, as ever they had to come thither. Said not God unto *Jacob* at his Gen. 46. 4. firſt deſcent, *I will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will alſo ſurely bring thee up again?* And ſaid not *Joſeph* on his death-bed unto his Brethren, *I dye, and God* Gen. 50. 24. *will*

will ſurely viſit you, and bring you out of this Land unto the Land which he ſware unto Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob. Ye ſhall carry up my bones from hence. Which he did by faith (as St *Paul* witneſſeth) bearing up the like in his Brethren and Poſterity. Heb. 11. 22.

In this eſtate the Children of *Iſrael* lived in proſperity the remaining ſeventeen years of *Jacob*'s life, and about fifty four more of *Joſeph*'s, through the Reign of more Kings than one, as Hiſtorians tell us. (Even as it happened (after) unto *Daniel*, for the ſake of the ſame people, when they were a ſecond time to be redeemed from their bondage.) As large a time of felicity as God doth uſually grant to his Church at once; that their hearts ſhould neither fail, nor wax groſs! But before any change arrive, we will leave them in their beſt condition, in a foreign Countrey, only eying in the cloſe what their ſpiritual ſtate was, as the only remaining viſible or (at leaſt) conſpicuous Church of God under Heaven.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Israelites *had toleration in* Egypt, *as to offer Sacrifices during* Joseph's *life; Afterwards denied them. That contrary Religions are sooner tolerated than diversities of the same. That there was but one Religion in* Satan's *Kingdom, how many Gods soever the Heathen worshipped.* Jews *(at this day) tolerated much at the like rate that they were before.*

THERE are three Questions emergent here, if I may dare to handle the Argument that I have in hand, *viz.* first, Toleration; secondly, Division; and, thirdly, The Unity of the Church. The first from the indulgence of *Egypt*, during *Joseph*'s life; The second from the piety of *Joseph*'s house, while separated from his Brethren; And the third, from the adoption of the whole house of *Jacob* (whereas but one of *Abraham* or *Isaac*'s Sons were comprehended in the blessing) even of the Sons of *Bilhah* and *Zilpah*, in opposition unto *Hagar* and *Keturah*.

It

It is not only ſaid, that *every Shepherd was an abomination unto the Egyptians*; but alſo, that *the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews*; *for that is an abomination to the Egyptians*; as if it were ſo to thoſe, more than to the Hebrews to eat with them. I would gladly know (then) how they could hold any time together: for I take it for granted, that *Jacob* would rather ſtarve than want an Altar at *Rameſes*, or ſome other part of *Goſhen*; it being the firſt thing he did to erect one (and to purge his houſe from Idols) in other places. Or how the *Egyptians* could bear their Sacrifices better than their Trade or Diet? I. Locis citatis. Gen. 33. 19. —35. 1, 2, 4, 7.

I cannot doubt but that there were *Egyptians* in *Goſhen* before, being a fertil Plat, and a Frontier; and ſome of theſe, Shepherds, and Herdſmen too, (however ſcorned by the Citizens) becauſe *Pharaoh* had ſaid unto *Joſeph*, *In the beſt of the Land make thy Father and Brethren to dwell*; *in the Land of Goſhen let them dwell: and if thou knoweſt any man of activity* * *amongſt them, then make them Rulers over my Cattel*: Which

* *A vulgo multum diverſa fuit terra quædam populi pars, quæ ſeorſim in Campeſtribus Ægypti, ac prope paludes degebat; ii Paſtores fuere, actuoſi illi quidem gnaviquè, ſed cunctis Ægyptiis execrabiles, propterea quod ignaviam eorum ſemper ſollicitam timebant.*

tenebant. Cunæus lib. 1. cap. 5. The Floud ceased *Anno Mundi* 1657. *Jacob* descended into *Egypt An. Mun.* 2298. So that by the Scheme before, you may guess to what magnificence they might be grown by this.

whether they consumed in *Egypt*, or sold abroad, (as the Jews after did their Swine) it matters not. But this was enough to ground such a Commerce as was fit to hold the *Israelites* and *Egyptians* in the fairer terms; especially since no man durst to mutter against the Kindred of *Joseph*, (that came in with so high a hand of grace and favour, and) who himself had preserved alive the people of *Egypt*. Neither is it to be doubted, but that these Parts were at this time more populous than *Canaan*, by reason of fertility, and the multitude of the Sons of *Ham*, that betook themselves this way (as fast as they encreased) from the Mountains of *Armenia*.

We must also suppose, that the *Egyptians* (and all other Nations) offered Sacrifices *, as well as *Israel*; (for both *Adam* and *Noah* taught all their Sons

* *Adeo ut ineptire (quasi) gestiant, qui Ægyptios ab omni mactatione avertari prætegunt; sentientes divinum aliquid in animalibus inesse: Ut & alii, qui Josephi tempore, nullam in Ægypto Idololatriam agnoscunt, sed in Syria tantùm; quam Israelitæ hîc sacrificare Vitulo didicerint, & dum in Ægypto degerent, idolis eorum inquinati sunt.* Ezech. 23. 3.

alike

alike to sacrifice.) And this perhaps might be a worser eye-sore to the *Egyptians* than any other, the *Israelites* worshipping another God before their faces, in another manner than they did; since the Rites were changed wheresoever Idolatry came instead of the right Worship.

Now to this it may be said, that two different Religions were always accounted more tolerable than the same divided. For such would be sure to go far enough apart, and not to interfere with one another. Nay, all Religions (besides the true) which had *Satan* for their Moderator, agreed well enough with one another.

As in the *Roman* practice there are Churches dedicated by divers names in sundry Regions, which have Reliques, Miracles and Altars with indulgences annexed to them; so that there is curiosity in pilgrimage and merit too: more particularly, the places that bear the superscription of the Blessed Virgin, are the most celebrated and visited: for "their stateliest Churches are lightly "hers, and in Churches hers the fairest "Altars. Where one prayeth before "the Crucifix, two before her Image; "where one voweth to Christ, ten vow "unto her, and not so much to her self,

Sandys's Speculum, pag. 6.

"as to ſome peculiar Image, which for "ſome ſelect Vertue or Grace, together "with greater power of operation of "Miracles, they chiefly ſerve, as the "glorious Lady of *Loretto*, the devout "Lady of *Rome*, the miraculous Lady "of *Provenzano*, the *Annunciata* of "*Florence*; whoſe Churches are ſo ſtuf-"fed with vowed Preſents and Memories, "that they are fain to hang their Cloi-"ſters alſo, and Church-yards with "them. Then as their vows are, ſuch are "their pilgrimages, *&c.*

Conſulatur Chemnitius parte 3. Exam. tit. de invocatione & veneratione Sanctorum; & recentiores adverſus Bell.

In like manner, the Heathens had always ſome ſumptuous Temples, or wondrous Stories, to draw Strangers and devotion, and to raiſe a name to the places where they lived. If they would ſee a ſtately Structure (compared with the Temple of *Solomon* by ſome Writers) and a wonder by report, *What man is there that knoweth not how that the City of the Epheſians is a worſhipper of the great Goddeſs Diana, and of the Image that fell down from Jupiter?* If they would be cured, they muſt go to *Æſculapius* or *Apollo* (chuſe they whether) or to any other God or Goddeſs that had a fame, whether in their own or in another Countrey, for ſome particular aids

Acts 19. 35.

or

or remedies. If they would have counſel and ſucceſs, || theſe were reſerved chiefly unto *Jupiter* (in great Caſes, and) in thoſe few places where Satan would vouchſafe to ſpeak by his Oracles. But it was obſerved that *Venus* had more Votaries than any other; whether Men or Women would be married, or obtain any other Love; or be fruitful, or be barren; or agree (after they had fallen out) * *ad Sacellum Deæ viri-placæ*, which is deſcribed in *Valerius Maximus*.

|| Ciceron compte 6. Hercules; Varron 43. & plus de 300. Jupiters. Le Treſor Polit. l. 3. chap. de ce mot Brindes.

* *Quoties inter Virum & Uxorem aliquid jurgii interceſſerat, in Sacellum Deæ Viri-placæ, quod eſt in palatio, veniebant; & ibi invicem locuti quæ voluerant, contentione animorum depoſitâ concordes revertebantur.* l. 2. c. 1. *Invenit tamen medium ſibi ipſa mortalitas Numen: Toto quippe mundo, & locis omnibus, omnibuſque horis, omnium vocibus, fortuna ſola invocatur: Una nominatur, una accuſatur, una agitur rea, una cogitatur, ſola laudatur, ſola arguitur, & cum convitiis colitur... Adeoque obnoxiæ ſumus ſortis, ut ſors ipſa pro Deo ſit, quâ Deus probatur incertus... Innumeros autem credere, atque etiam ex virtutibus, vitiiſque hominum, ut pudicitiam, concordiam, &c. majorem ad ſocordiam accedit.* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 7. *Quinetiam furtorum, & ſcelerum Numina eſſe tradiderunt. Coluerunt Romani Jovem adulterum & ſtupratorem, & febri publicum fanum in palatio dedicârunt, & Aram malæ fortunæ in Exquiliis.* Corn. Agrippa de Van. ſcientiarum cap. de Relig. *Sic nos, Te facimus Fortuna Deam, Cœlòque locamus.* Juv. Sat. *Sed* (ut Plinius pergit) *irridendum, agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid eſt ſummum: anne tam triſti, atque multiplici miniſterio non pollui credamus?* Et oſtendens paulò poſt, *quid Deus poſſit facere, vel non, aſſerit expreſſe.... Non mortales æternitate donare, aut revocare defunctos, nec facere, ut qui vixit, non vixerit, &c. nullumque habere in præterita jus, præterquam oblivionis.* Ibid.

Wherefore, though some Nations of the Heathens intituled themselves to particular Gods or Goddesses, and so preferred them above others, as their Protectors; yet they never opposed or vilified the Gods of other Countries, when they came into the places where they were adored, (although both at *Rome* and *Athens* they were fain sometimes to take caution against admitting too many Foreign Religions within their own Walls) whereof I will alledge but two Instances, for fear of an impertinent digression.

Xen. de Exped. Cyri minoris.

When *Xenophon* had returned safe with his Army out of the Locks and Bars of *Persia*, and was now within the protection of the *Grecians*, he consulted with a famous Soothsayer about his Affairs (having always been a superstitious and industrious man) why he should get nothing howsoever: His Soothsayer advised him to sacrifice to *Jupiter* Μειλιχίῳ (or the Gentle) who was adored in those Parts: And after this service performed unto that Idol (of a fine Title) *Xenophon* struck into a small and short exploit, and enriched himself more than by all his former Travels. Which he imputed unto that direction.

And

And of *Pompey* the Great, *Plutarch* tells us, that he enriched and adorned the Temples of the Gods in the Eaſtern Parts with his Spoils; and *Joſephus*, that he not only abſtained from ſpoiling the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, when he had taken it by Storm (through the reverence he had of God) but alſo cauſed ſuch as had the charge of the Temple, to purge the ſame, and to offer Sacrifices unto God the next day, according to the Law; whereof we ſhall have more to ſay hereafter in its proper place; where we ſhall obſerve (that according unto *Solomon*'s prayer) *Alexander* and divers other Princes alſo were admitted to offer their own Sacrifices or Oblations there.

Plut. in vit. Pomp.

Joſ. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8. & de Bello lib. 1. cap. 5.

But the Queſtion of toleration returneth ſtill for a fuller Anſwer. It ſeems, that they enjoyed it no longer than *Joſeph*'s life: for the firſt meſſage that *Moſes* brings to *Pharaoh* complains of this oppreſſion, and demands redreſs of it, *Let us go three days journey into the Wilderneſs, that we may ſacrifice unto the Lord our God; leſt he fall upon us with peſtilence, and with the ſword*, for having thus long deferred it out of fear. And when *Pharaoh* (after dreadful judgments) would have yielded that they ſhould *ſacrifice*

Exod. 3. 18. & 5. 3.

Chap. 8. 25, &c.

in the Land; *Moses* replyed, *So shall we sacrifice to the Lord our God the abomination of the Egyptians, and will they not stone us?*

When the same people were in *Babylon* (where Sacrifices ceased with the Temple, so that they were the less to be observed) they were sometimes overlooked, and sometimes not; even as they are at this day in *Turky* and *Christendom*; whereas the *Turkish Mussulman* hates the *Persian Mahometan*, even more than either Jew or Christian. And the Papists would extirpate Protestants, if they were able; and inferiour Sects (howsoever plausibly they speak when they are low) would even do the like by one another. Only our Mother Church of *England* is of no Sect at all.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

How Joseph *might live in* Pharaoh's *house, and be free from* Egyptian *superstition. What private Religion he might have; What godly people near him; What Union he had with the Church Catholick, or his Fathers house. That he lived by faith, like* Daniel *in* Babylon; *yet the want of Ordinances such a trouble to him as to* David.

1. IF any one admire how *Joseph* could live so many years, first, in *Potiphar's*, and then in *Pharaoh's* house, so as to escape the *Egyptian* Idolatry or Superstitions; they may observe, that he was noted in both places to have a Diviner Spirit in him than the Magicians; and so to have been left the more to himself in *Egypt*, as *Daniel* (after) was in *Babylon*, till a particular charge was brought against him concerning his Religion. Nay, *Joseph's* being *as Pharaoh and a Father unto Pharaoh* (after he came to Court) exempted him from any jurisdiction or inspection whatsoever; for who durst say unto *Pharaoh*, *What dost thou?* II. Gen. 44. 18. & 45. 8.

2. If

2. If it be further questioned, What private Religion *Joseph* could have unto himself, or what exercise or practice of it, in the house of *Pharaoh*? Could he have any private Altar? Or, if he had, any one to serve at that Altar, or to worship at it, besides himself? Or, could he have any Closets adorned with the Reliques of *Noah*, *Sem*, *Eber*, *Abraham*, *&c.* or any other holy things? or what did he do? I answer,

First, He did as his Father *Jacob* had done before in the idolatrous house of *Laban*; where I cannot think that he either had or needed any Altar, or any other circumstances of devotion. In his way to whose house (notwithstanding) *he set up the stone that he used as a pillow, for a pillar, and poured Oil upon the top of it, and called the name of the place Bethel*, that is, the house of God; vowing that it should be so to him, if God should restore him safe to his Father's house, and that he would offer the tenth unto him, of all that God should give him; as if he would make that Stone an Altar, and that place such a place of worship, as *Gilgal* and *Shilob* after were. But this Pillar (you see) was erected *pro futuro* only.

Gen. 28. 18.

Secondly,

Secondly, Yet I doubt not but *Joseph* might have erected an Altar of testimony or thanksgiving, or for Peace-offerings (at the least) as others did upon special occasions, (before and after the Law) even till the building of the Temple, if such occasion were. But we read not of it; peradventure God would not suffer his own name to be prophaned by setting up an abomination to the *Egyptians* before their faces, nor *Joseph*'s service, to be prejudiced thereby. For although the Father of a Family was the ordinary Priest of his own house; yet any man apart (as *Jacob*) might erect an Altar, and offer his thanksgivings thereupon, using such as he had about him like so many *Levites*, all sanctified by the Sacrifice, if the occasions of the Altar and the Sacrifice were right.

Thirdly, If *Joseph* had any outward part of Devotion to accomplish, it may be he might have found some (of his Retainers) not unmeet to be assisting to him. For in his handling of his Brethren (while they took him for an *Egyptian*) *he said unto them the third day, This do and live; for I fear God:* As if he would have them think no other, but that there was some Gen. 42. 18.

piety

piety in *Egypt* as well as amongst them whom he knew. And when they made Apology unto the Steward of *Joseph's* house about their money, the Steward said unto them, *Peace be to you, fear not: your God, the God of your Father hath given you treasure in your Sacks, I had your money.* As if this Steward could speak the language of *Israel*, and was not unacquainted with the God of *Jacob*.

Gen. 43. 19, 23.

Fourthly, It may seem that *Joseph* worshipped God with the like respect to his Fathers house, and the Sacrifices offered there; and with the like respect unto the Land of promise, as *Daniel* did in *Babylon*, when he opened his Window towards the Temple, and prayed for the restitution that was promised: in the mean while they were both abridged of the outward Ordinances, and lived by their faith in the promises of God. We have spoken enough of *Daniel* before; St *Paul* is as clear for *Joseph* when he saith, *By faith Joseph when he was a dying made mention of the departing of the Children of Israel, and gave commandment concerning his bones*; reckoning him among the rest, *who through faith obtained a good report, not having yet received the promise.*

Heb. 11. 22.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Nay, by the History it is manifest, that as *Moses by faith when he was come to years refused to be called the Son of Pharaohs Daughter, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt*; so it had fared with *Joseph* before. All the pleasures of that Heathen Court, and all the submissions of that Heathen People, infused no other satisfaction into his spirit, but that he must be contented (that he might be Protector of *Israel*) to abide without, as an Alien from his Fathers house, and to be deprived of the holy Ordinances of God: For when he was about to dye, he said unto his Brethren, *I dye, and God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this Land* (of bondage, where I have been detained and afflicted with you, in expectation of the promise made unto our Fathers) *unto the Land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob: God will surely visit you*; and he took an Oath of them about carrying his bones from thence. Nor was *David* in his worst Quarters when he said, *Wo is me that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the Tents of Kedar.* For although good men may be saved without the Ordinances, where God himself debarrs

Gen. 50. 24.

Psal. 120. 5.

barrs them; yet they cannot live comfortably without them: Which they may do well to consider, who (if they have but a reasonable excuse for it) had as lief be planted in the utmost *Indies*, as in the midst of Churches. So we see what union *Joseph* held in his separation both with the Church Catholick of all Believers, and also with the house of *Jacob* in particular.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Unity of the Church in respect to Election, in the general (perplexities noted) more especially in respect to the house of Jacob, *wherein all were chosen; whereas in the house of* Abraham *and* Isaac, *there was but one received as Heir of the promise. Reasons to be given for their rejection: and so, might have been in* Jacob's *house too, whose errours are recorded.*

NOW concerning the Unity of the Church, this hath been taken for a general Rule, That the Church is as large as the Election, and the Election so determined within its Bounds or spaces, that (*extra Ecclesiam non est salus*) without the Church there is no salvation. Which occasioning a distinction betwixt the Church visible and invisible, it hath made the wide World the Subject of some mens charity, as much as any Church visible; the rather because some men think there may be an inward Call by the Spirit, where there is no outward Call of the Church visible. And so for Election; Whereas St *Paul* III.

Paul gives us ground for two diſtinctions uncontroulable, *viz.* 1. Of a general Election both of Jew and Gentile, unto the ſtate of Grace, by believing of the Goſpel, anſwering to the Election of the Jews alone (from the times of the Law) unto ſpecial Covenant and priviledge. 2. Of a certain Election of perſons (not ſo large as the other) unto eternal life, according to the foreknowledge of God. This hath occaſioned the Schoolmen and the modern Polemical Divines (by ſcanning of the terms, and ſifting what might be drawn from them) to come in with a diſtinction between (like a kind of ſuperfœtation) of particular Election abſolute or conditional (for of the general Election of ſome people more than others unto ſpecial means, they dare not queſtion over boldly; or enter farther into this Secret of Providence, than Travellers dare into that Stove of St *Germans* in *Italy*, the mouth whereof I have been in; only, ſome preſume to ſay, that there are ſufficient means granted unto all) which modern diſtinction of the Popiſh Schoolmen, and our Common-place-men, hath raiſed much ſtir and heats both in the Roman and Reformed Churches: For

if

if there be an absolute positive Election of a few, the Question is not so much, Whether it be without respect of persons, as without respect of sin? If there be a particular Election of persons, conditionally only; then, Whether Election hangeth in suspense? or, being from eternity, proceedeth according to God's foreknowledge (*vel saltem per scientiam mediam*) with a respect to his own Decree, according to works foreseen, of merits condign or congruous, (as the Schoolmen speak) or according to faith or Evangelical obedience (at the least) foreseen and foreknown; which pleaseth some of ours well enough, though they have much difficulty and difference in the explaining of their meanings? In the mean while perhaps there cannot be much more proved from St *Paul*, than that Election beareth no respect to the Works of the Law, by which neither Jew nor Gentile can be justified; but that both must be brought to cry, Grace, Grace, unto the Gospel.

But the Bounds of my Discourse confine themselves naturally within the general Election of Grace, whereby it pleased God to chuse some particular persons to be the Body Constitutive of

his Church, to the exclusion of others, that might seem to have stood as fair as they.

If it be asked, Why *Abel* was accepted, and *Cain* not? it is ready to be answered, That *Abel* offered a better Sacrifice, and that from a better mind; wherein God himself is our Warrant: for *he said unto him, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lyeth at the door.* Gen. 4. 6, 7.

If it be asked again, Why was *Sem* chosen rather than *Ham* and *Japhet*? A reason may be given against *Ham*; but there is no manifest reason against *Japhet*, but the Oeconomy or Providence of God, *secundum beneplacitum*: Whoever presseth further, may engage himself beyond recovery, unless he do content himself in this, that there was a time to be (when it pleased God) that the fulness of the Gentiles should come in.

So a reason may be given against *Ishmael*, He was not only the Son of the Bondwoman that misbehaved her self towards her Mistress, but a malicious Scorner of the true Heir, the Son of the Free-

Free-woman, and a Wild-man; but of the Sons of *Keturah*, what have we to say more than of *Japhet*, save only, that of *Midian*, one of them, came *Jethro* and the *Kenites*, friends and partakers of the house of *Israel*?

What wonder though *Esau* was permitted to seek his Fortunes in Mount *Seir*, he having matched with the Daughters of *Heth* and *Ishmael*, to the grief of his Parents (and so, without their liking) and being otherwise prophane; not only as a common Hunt, but as an Hunter like to *Nimrod*, so far as God permitted?

But what have we to say at last, that all the Sons of *Jacob* (his Concubines and all) should be taken in, and never an one rejected? Did ever *Ishmael* or *Esau* play such pranks as some of these? *Reuben* the eldest *went in to Bilhah*, (the Concubine which *Rachel*, and not his Mother *Leah*, had given unto *Jacob*) *and lay with her, and defiled his Fathers bed.* *Simeon* and *Levi* fell upon the *Shechemites*, not only cruelly, but perfidiously, after they had made them Proselytes. *Judah* (the next preferred above all) *went down from his Brethren*, (who had little converse, beyond their commerce,

Gen. 35. 22.
Ch. 49. 4.
Ch. 34. 25.

commerce, with the people of the Land)
Gen. 38. *and turned in to a certain Adullamite, whoſe name was Hirah. And Judah ſaw there a Daughter of a certain Canaanite, whoſe name was Shuah, and he took her, and went in unto her. And ſhe bare him Er, Onan and Shelah.* *Er* married *Tamar*, and *was wicked* (following his Mothers kind) *and the Lord ſlew him, and Onan after him.* And then *Judah* diſſembled about giving the third Son *Shelah* unto *Tamar*, leſt he ſhould periſh too. So *Judah* himſelf fell into *Tamars* Gin, and was diſgraced by her at the preſent, but got more honour from her inceſtuous Iſſue at the laſt, than from his own marriage with the *Canaanite*.
Chap. 37. 1. For the Sons of the Concubines, *Dan*, *Naphtali*, *Gad* and *Aſher*, *Joſeph* was wont to bring their ill report unto his Father, for which they envied him:
Ver. 18. And for *Iſſachar* and *Zebulun*, they were alſo in the Conſpiracy againſt the life of *Joſeph*. Only *Reuben's* pity was commended, (though he was agreed with the reſt to conceal it with fraud from *Jacob*) in that he would have ſaved *Joſeph* altogether, (which might be a reaſon why *Joſeph* bound *Simeon*, the ſecond, when he let *Reuben*, the firſt, go free)

free) and *Judah* ſo far, as that he would rather ſell him for a Slave than ſlay him. Gen. 42. 22. 24. Thus the Scripture concealeth not their vices: Only *Joſeph* (the Son of *Rachel*) is extolled, and his Brother *Benjamin* blameleſs.

CHAP. XL.

The Sons of Jacob *compared in their vertues and vices: The latter aggravated, and excuſed. Why* Pharez, *born of inceſt, ſhould be ſo great in* Judah, *and inherit the promiſe at the laſt.*

NOW to compare the good and bad qualities of theſe Patriarchs with one another. It ſeems to ſome, that when *Reuben* had committed his inceſt with his Mother-in-Law, and that *Iſrael heard of it*, his Father was afraid to take notice of it, (*quia Reuben ferox erat*) becauſe *Reuben* was a fierce man: It may ſeem likewiſe as if he defiled his Father's Bed, in contempt of *Bilhah*, *Rachels* Handmaid; and ſo that there was ſome malice mixed with his luſt. But the pity that he alone had of *Joſeph*, the Son of *Rachel*, ſhews that he was Ch. 35. 22. Eſius.

neither fierce (as *Simeon* and *Levi*) nor yet so envious as the rest: But most like it is that the beauty only of *Bilhah* did inflame him (as a fine Creature, for *Rachel*, to present to *Jacob*, whereby to estrange him a little more from *Leah*) since *Jacob*, who was to denounce his punishment to him at the last, said no more but that though he was *the beginning of his might, he should not excel*, only *because he was unstable as water, when he went up to his Fathers bed, and defiled it*; high water being such as will break any Bounds whatsoever.

Gen. 49. 3, 4.

And though some Expositors doubt not of his repentance, (by the tokens of his good nature towards *Joseph*, both when he was betrayed, and after in his Embassy) yet God did not think fit to remit the temporal punishment unto him and his posterity, of being deprived of primogeniture and number. But whether it was *Judah* or *Joseph* that had his Right, we shall consider by and bye.

As for *Simeon* and *Levi*, after their bloudy fact, when their Father said unto them, *Ye have troubled me, to make me stink among the inhabitants of the Land, so that I being few in number* (in comparison of the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*)

Chap. 34. 30, 31.

zites) *they ſhall gather themſelves together againſt me and ſlay me, and I ſhall be deſtroyed, I and my houſe* (ſhewing their blind and raſh folly as well as wickedneſs) they had ſo little Grace as to return this ſurly Anſwer, *Should he deal with our Siſter, as with an Harlot?* Nor had they any more remorſe about their Brother *Joſeph* afterwards, in whoſe bloud they would (for their parts) have had an hand. Which might occaſion *Joſeph* to ſeize on *Simeon* (to chuſe) as hath been noted. Yet (no doubt) he was famous in his Generation (for ſome Vertue * or other) becauſe ſo many bore the name of *Simeon* or *Simon* in the ſucceeding Ages. So that he had but one and the ſame Sentence with his Brother in iniquity, even with *Levi*, *I will divide them in Jacob, and ſcatter them in Iſrael.* Which was accompliſhed in *Simeon*'s poſterity, by having their lot ſhut up (in a manner) within the Confines of *Judah*, and its Borders; and in *Levi*'s, by having no lot at all among the reſt in the Land of promiſe; ſaving a lot extraordinary, which God had aſſigned to them (they ſay) as good Gen. 49.

* *Reuben* for one fault, lying with *Bilha*, his Fathers Concubine, loſt all: and yet for himſelf, in his particular, *Joſeph* excepted, he was (otherwiſe) the beſt of the Brethren. *Biſhop* Mont. *acts*, &c. *cap.* 1. §. 37.

as the best: So God over-ruleth in his gracious Providence, even turning his chastisements into blessings! And for *Levi*'s own person, he lived a hundred and thirty years, (what Age he might be when he came with *Jacob* into *Egypt*, is uncertain.) And a hundred and thirty years after *Jacob*'s descent was *Moses* born, the younger Brother of *Aaron*, the Redeemers of *Israel*, descended both immediately from *Levi* *.

Exod. 6. 16.

* So long as *Joseph* lived, so long as *Levi*, who survived all his Brethren, they adhered to God, and to his Service alone, wherein they had been brought up and instructed by tradition [so it liketh him] from *Jacob*, *Isaac*, *Abraham*. After which they degenerated (as *Ezek.* 23. cited above.) *Bishop* Montague's *alls*, &c. *cap.* 1. §. 32.

Now for *Judah*, his faults and failings have not been spared; upon which (saith Bishop *Hall*) "I find not many of "*Jacob*'s Sons more faulty than *Judah*: But Bishop *Montague* || says (according to *Josephus*) that "*Judah*, being "παλμικὸς τῇ φύσει, καὶ δραστικὸς ἀνὴρ, a "bold, daring, putting-forth man, was "well enough disposed in his own per-"son to be the Law-giver, and to have "the Scepter, although it was not (in-"deed) conferred on his person, but "his Tribe. Methinks (in truth) he was (like *Peter* among the Disciples) the forwardest

Id. Sect. 37.

forwardeſt to undertake with his Father, to lead his Brethren, to expoſtulate with *Joſeph*, to be *Jacob*'s Harbinger, and the likelieſt to be preſented (as one of the five) in the preſence of the great King *Pharaoh*. And though he conſented to *Joſeph*'s ſlavery, yet ſaid he, *Let not our hand be upon him; for he is our Brother, and our fleſh.* And as he was of a fervent Spirit, and preſently paſſed Sentence upon *Tamar* to be burnt; ſo when ſhe convinced him, he did not deny, or haſten execution to conceal it, but ingenuouſly ſaid, *She hath been more righteous than I: And he knew her again no more.* To him therefore, as a man of great ſufficiency, was the Scepter given, and the promiſe of Chriſt, (which was much more) and yet the birth-right of *Reuben* was tranſlated unto *Joſeph*. Of which (peradventure) more at large when I come unto the lots.

Gen. 37. 27.

1 Chron. 5. 1, 2.

Only, this is too much to my purpoſe and deſign to be omitted. Not only *Judah* with all his faults (which poor *Jacob*'s pious ſoul muſt bear withal amongſt them) is admitted to the prime Prerogative; but his baſe-born *Pharez*, after him, becomes the immediate Heir of the Promiſe, and not his elder Son *Shelah*,

Shelah, begotten in the ſtate of Wedlock; to the diſparagement likewiſe (as it might ſeem) of the reſt of the Seed of *Jacob*. Let us make the account thus: *Reuben* is deprived of his birthright for the Cauſe of *Bilhah*; *Simeon* was next, and *Levi* next to him: but they are both removed farther off for the ſake of *Shechem*. *Judah* is (thereupon) the next in order; and (if there be any fault in him, or however, if it were poſſible) one would think that *Jacob* ſhould transfer this bleſſing unto *Joſeph*, who was the eldeſt Son of his beſt beloved Wife, and now a Father to his Brethren, as he was to his own Father too, ſo far as he was a Father unto *Pharaoh*, under whoſe protection and beneficence they were to be cheriſhed and flouriſh; or elſe (by *Joſeph's* leave) to his own Brother *Benjamin*, the Son of *Jacob's* right hand, with whom no fault is found; nor, it may be, ever was, ſince his poſterity held ſtedfaſt to the Covenant, and the bleſſing, when *Joſeph's* had revolted.

Why, there was fault enough to be found with *Judah* to ſtop his mouth, and barr his claim to any Excellency amongſt his Brethren. It was a kind of debauch

debauch in him, to go rambling among the accurſed *Canaanites*, (from whom he ought to have kept an holy diſtance) and there to be enamoured or inveigled with their *Shuah*; and to marry according to his luſt, rather than his reaſon. It was like that ſin of the old World, which haſtened the deluge, when *the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them Wives of all that they choſe.* If you ask, Why, where ſhould he have had another? Think you not that *Eſau* gueſſed ſhrewdly (though he hit amiſs) when hearing that *Jacob* was to be ſent to *Padan-aram* for a Wife of the Mothers kin; he himſelf was reſolved to mend the matter, by taking one of the Fathers ſide, in marrying the Daughter of *Iſhmael* the Son of *Abraham*? But if there had not been choice enough of kin of either ſide at hand, better an Alien of any other Countrey than of *Canaan*; which he knew to be the very Land that God had promiſed to his Father and Forefathers for an everlaſting poſſeſſion, not without the deſtruction of the inhabitants, as the very Seed of the Serpent and Coar of enmity. *Thou ſhalt not* (therefore) *take a Wife of the Daughters* Gen. 6. 2. Gen. 28. 6, 9.

of

of Canaan, had *Iſaac* ſaid unto his Father *Jacob*. For muſt ſuch a mixture be? Or ſuch a Seed proceed from the Bowels of a *Canaanitiſh* Woman, as ſhall be proper to deſtroy the *Canaanites?*

Was not this (then) as juſt an exception againſt *Judah* now, as it had been againſt *Eſau* before, and for the ſake of which his own Mother could not love him, but procured his diſheriſon? For *Eſau* when he was forty years old married two *Hittites*, (before *Iſhmael's* Daughter) *which were a grief of mind to Iſaac and Rebekkah:* and ſhe ſaid, *I am weary of my life, becauſe of the Daughters of Heth.*

Gen. 26. 34, 35. & 27. 46.

Now if any one ask here, Why, what choice had he or the other Brothers? Whither ſhould they go? Whom did the other Brothers marry? Did not *Joſeph* (for his part) marry the Prieſt of *On's* Daughter (an *Egyptian*) for whoſe ſake it may ſeem that he left the *Egyptian* Prieſts demeſns intire, when he cunningly bought all the reſt of *Egypt*, for his bread, into bondage unto *Pharaoh?* Or who ever blamed *Abraham* for his taking of *Hagar* or *Keturah* for his Concubines? Or *Jacob* himſelf, for taking *Bilhah* into his boſom (who proved not honeſt

Gen. 47. 12.

honeſt to him) or *Zilpah*, who had been bred amongſt the Idols of *Laban*, which *Rachel* ſtole, whether for love or hatred is a Queſtion?

Although it hath been taken for an opinion, that the *Hebrews* took their Wives only (*ex Ingenuis*) out of free-born women, and their Concubines (*ex Ancillis*) out of Handmaids; yet Mr *Selden* proves that theſe did not differ in the quality of Wives, but only in the inequality of conditions; foraſmuch as *Keturah* in *Geneſis* is called *Abraham's* Wife, and in the *Chronicles* his Concubine, (which ſome do therefore improbably think to be the ſame with *Hagar* re-aſſumed) We may obſerve that *Hagar* had been ſeaſoned with the ſame Religion before *Abraham* took her, by being bred in his houſe; inſomuch that ſhe prayed in her diſtreſs, and had an Angel to comfort her. But ſhe was repudiated for her rebellion againſt her Miſtreſs, and her Son ſent away with gifts (which followed) becauſe it is ſaid, that *unto the Sons of the Concubines* (both of them) *which Abraham had, he gave gifts, and ſent them away from Iſaac his Son, while he yet lived* *.

De jure Nat. & Gent. ſec. Heb. l. 5. c. 7.

Gen. 25. 1. 1 Chron. 1. 32.

Gen. 25. 6.

* But after they were ſeparated, it ſeems, that they both revolted: for *Iſhmael dwelt in the wilderneſs of Paran, and became an Archer. And his Mother took him a Wife out of the Land of Egypt.* Gen. 21. 20, 21.

lived *. And by *Keturah* (whoſe true Religion we have no ground to queſtion) he had ſome Iſſue which retained their profeſſion in the time of *Moſes*, who married a Wife out of *Jethro*'s houſe, deſcended from *Midian*, a Son of *Abraham* by this *Keturah*. Among ſome or other of theſe (therefore) the Sons of *Jacob* might have found Wives, as well as *Moſes*, who is not blamed for it.

Or elſe, among the Women that *Rebekkah*, *Rachel* and *Leah* had brought with them, (if they were more than two) or the Daughters born of them, in the ſpace of a hundred and fifty years; or as they might give their Siſters to their choicer Servants, ſo they might take their Daughters, and ſo conrain themſelves within themſelves; which might be the reaſon of their *leviration*, (which God did after eſtabliſh by a Law) or Brothers marrying of a Brother's Widow, in caſe he dyed before he had any Iſſue by her. Indeed, it is not mentioned whence the other Sons had their Wives, only *Judah* ſeemeth to be blamed. As

Gen. 38. 8.

As for *Joseph*'s taking the Priest of *On*'s Daughter, 1. *Pharaoh* gave her. 2. God himself, who was able to sanctifie her unto him, as it is like he did by the towardly Children which she bare him; which pleased *Jacob* when he blessed them. 3. If *Joseph* spared the Priests Lands, it is an Argument that he feared Sacriledge, as many of the Heathen (after) did, with the like regard unto the *Jewish* Priests: And this is delivered (by *Josephus*) as a Law among the *Jews*: "Let no man speak evil of those Gods "which other Countries and Cities suppose to be Gods. Let no man spoil any strange Temple, nor take that "which is dedicated unto any God. Antiq. l. 4. c. 8.

And as for *Jacob*'s taking of *Bilhah* and *Zilpah*, the same may be said as of *Abraham* taking of *Hagar* and *Keturah*. They came from *Padan-aram* with him, and abode with their Mistresses after he had purged his house from Idols; *Labans* and all, (if any did remain) which it may seem that *Rachel* stole away to please her Husband *Jacob* (when time should serve to discover it) not fearing her Fathers displeasure, rather than out of any love to them, because she may be understood to have been of the forwardest,

Gen. 35. 4. eſt, when *Jacob* purged his houſe, *to bring all the ſtrange Gods and ear-rings unto him*: As alſo becauſe ſhe had the bleſſing of the two more pious Sons.

CHAP. XLI.

Purſuing the ſame Argument, and opening the Law of Leviration, by which Pharez *was reſtored. Other marked perſons no blot to the Genealogy of Chriſt.*

BUT the failing of *Judah* concerning *Tamar* (if it were not greater) might yet ſeem more unlucky of the two, and more prejudicial in the conſequence unto the houſe of *Iſrael*, than the other; inaſmuch as two misbegotten Children came thereby to be reckoned to the ruling Tribe of *Iſrael*, and not only to have equal part with others, but to have inheritance from *Judah*, all alike with *Shelah*. Doth God abhor inceſt and adultery, and yet ſuffer the choiceſt Bleſſings of all to deſcend to their Iſſue? Or how is it that *David* and Chriſt ſhould come to deſcend from this *Pharez*, rather than from *Shelah*?

Now

Now about the first failing of *Judah* we may say, That if *Jacob* had had the power of the blessing in his own hands (as he had not) it was not exception enough against him to put him by; nor in the streights wherein they were, can one be sure that there were no more strange Wives within the Tents of *Jacob*, but only *Shuah*'s Daughter. However, God was pleased to take the punishment of *Judah*'s fault home unto himself, and he brought it home to *Judah*; for whatever *Shelah* was, he gave him but three Sons in all, two of which he permitted to be such wicked *Canaanites* as were not to be born withal; so that the Lord himself slew them, and in the stead thereof made him father other two, which he least intended.

But on second thoughts, neither was the latter fault so great as the first, nor the consequence so bad as you imagine.

See what an Acquaintance had *Judah* gotten by wandring away from the Tents of *Israel*, and searching out for some good house or other wherein to solace and cares himself; *He turned in to a certain Adullamite, whose name was Hirah.* And he, it seems, as having a design upon his Friend (so called) help Gen. 38. 1.

him unto *Shuah*'s Daughter, with whom *Judah* was taken in his vagary. Which friendship (howsoever) continued till after her death, (good men being seldome forward to shake off even their Back-friends:) So that *Hirah*, being with him to comfort him, was as ready to help him at another turn, (even as lewd Suburbers delight to draw in Country-men into the Stews) and to wait for him (like a Pander) and conceal his prank, while he suffered him (rather than himself) to go aside unto a seeming Harlot: and when *Judah* came back, to carry a Kid for him unto the Woman, to redeem *Judah*'s pledges, because he was ashamed to send by any but a Stranger. So that *Judah* seems to have continued still under the same or like temptations, as long as he retaineth this acquaintance. And it is by his temptations that we must endeavour to excuse him; whereof this Heathen *Hirah* was the first.

Then we must consider, that it was but simple fornication, upon surprize (and without design) that *Judah* suffered himself to be drawn in by; whereas his marriage was a setled resolution. And that God suffered him to be

be thus betrayed (puniſhing one ſin by another, and the conſequences of it) for his injuſtice in denying his third Son *Shelah* unto *Tamar*; which he was bound to do by a known Law amongſt them: Or for his diſtruſt in God, leſt he ſhould take away *Shelah* for doing his Duty, as he had done the other two for wickedneſs.

Add to this the ſubtilty of *Tamar* (who was a Free-woman of *Iſrael*, by her marriage unto *Er* the eldeſt Son of *Judah*, whatſoever ſhe was before) that knew where the ſoft place was in *Judah*'s Head, and meant to be meet with him, inaſmuch as ſhe had been of a long time wronged, and ſaw no other likelihood of redreſs but this: for the Law (as we may learn more clearly by the reviving of it) was this, *viz. If Brethren dwell together, and one of them dye, and have no Child, the Wife of the dead ſhall not marry without, unto a Stranger; her Husband's Brother ſhall go in unto her, and take her to him to Wife, and perform the duty of an Husband's Brother unto her. And it ſhall be, that the firſt-born which ſhe beareth ſhall ſucceed in the name of his Brother, which is dead, that his name be not put out of Iſrael.* Deut. 25. 5, 6.

The Law (then) obliging *Tamar* to live within, under a Widow's guise, and not to marry without, but expect; she had (indeed) *Onan* given to her; but he hating to *raise up Seed unto his Brother* (more than to lye with a taking Woman) *spilt his Seed upon the ground*, thinking (it may be) after that to go into fruitless dalliance. *And the thing displeased the Lord, so that he slew him also* after his Brother *Er*. The reason of *Onan*'s sin is to be understood, *viz.* Because he would have the eldest Brother's Right extinct, and be eldest himself; whereas if he had begotten a Son on *Tamar*, even that Son should have carried the birth-right from him. And when *Tamar* had remained still a shady Widow, in hope of *Shelah*, and she saw that he was grown, and not given to her, she began not only to despair of an Husband, but of an interest in the house of *Judah*, which ought not to be denyed her: It was the least of her intention (therefore) to play the Harlot, whatever *Judah* meant; for being sped by him, she put on her Widows Garments again, and betook herself to her former place. So that she may seem no more to blame than an honest Woman, that

Gen. 38. 10.

that puts her ſelf into an Harlots place, and ſo defrauds her own Husband.

Ay, but the Law was, That the Brother and not the Father-in-Law ſhould raiſe up Seed unto the firſt Husband, How then can *Tamar* be excuſed for tempting, and lying with the Father?

We muſt not take *Tamar* for a ſcrupulous Caſuiſt, (though ſhe meant not to be an Harlot, but contained ever after, as it is moſt likely *Judah* did, of whoſe refraining there is mention, but of his marrying again we read not) but for an intereſſed, wronged Perſon, that ſought to right herſelf the beſt ſhe could: For if ſhe conceived, ſhe ſhould be wrapped up in the inheritance of her Iſſue, which *Judah* could not abandon; or if not, yet *Judah* could not wrong her any further.

But take the Caſe as it will bear: For a Brother to lye with his Brothers Wife or Widow, in any other Caſe than this, is inceſt; And it is no more inceſt in the Father-in-Law, ſo far as touching of bloud is intended (for the Father-in-Law has no more blood in his Son's Wife that never conceived) than in the Brother: There is only the reverence of Deſcent, that is more. And the rea-

ſon of another Deſcent (*viz.* of inheritance) being the reaſon of the Law that allows the diſpenſation, it is the leſs wonder that *Tamar* ſhould lay aſide the reſpect of reverence only to a Father, that would hold her ſtill under greater wrong, unleſs ſhe laid this Veil aſide, and put another on: which is all that I have to ſay for her.

But as for *Judah*, as his ſoul hated inceſt, ſo neither was he guilty of it (in the leaſt) as he was beguiled. And though his two Sons *Pharez* and *Zarah* were misbegotten (by miſtake) on *Tamar*; yet they were not baſe-born, but came by due Right into their Father *Er*'s Lot, as much as if *Shelah* had begotten them, who ought to have endeavoured it: So that *Judah* (by God's permiſſion) did but ſupply his Son's place as a puniſhment for his with-holding him. And when God had pardoned all this to *Judah*, neither his Father, nor his Brethren eyed him the worſe; but God himſelf proſpered him the more: For whereas his Brethren had all more Children than he, when they came to be numbred, at their going out of *Egypt*, *Judah* had ſeventy four thouſand, and ſix hundred males, from twenty years and

Numb. 1. 26, 27.

and upwards, whereas no other Tribe could come within ten thouſand of His.

If all this doth not ſatisfie, let us hear the pious Biſhop a little further: "I find "not many of *Jacob's* Sons more faulty "than *Judah*, who yet is ſingled out from "all the reſt to be the Royal Progenitor "of Chriſt, and to be honoured with the "dignity of the birth-right, that God's "Election might not be of merit. Elſe, "however he had ſped alone, *Thamar* "had not been joined in this Line. E-"ven *Judah* marries a *Canaanite*: It is "no marvel, though his Seed proſper "not. Yet, that good Children may "not be too much diſcouraged with "their unlawful propagation, the Fa-"thers of the promiſed Seed are raiſed "from an inceſtuous Bed. And (as I may add) in Chriſt's Genealogy we have *Rahab* the Harlot, *Ruth* the *Moabiteſs*, and *Bathſheba* (to chuſe) the adulterous Wife of *David*. But (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) *he put no difference betwixt us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.* Biſh. *Hall's* Contemplation of *Judah* and *Thamar*. Acts 15.9.

Such was the ſtate of the firſt viſible Church (which produced afterwards ſuch admirable Spirits) ſo far as I can diſcover. But if the Maſters were indifferently ſuch (as I have deſcribed) what think

think you were the Men? If it had so seemed good to God, he could have set them all alike without blemish: But he would rather take in all (now) than leave out one. And so must we, leaving them in the good Land of *Goshen* all the life of *Joseph*, and some time after; for the Text saith, that *Joseph dyed, and all his Brethren, and all that Generation, before a new King* (*Josephus* saith of another Race) *arose up over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.* And that the people were so encreased, that *Goshen could no more contain them, but that the Land of Egypt was filled with them.*

Antiq. l. 2. c. 5.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ὅτι τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

FINIS.

A LETTER

In ANSWER to a

QUESTION

Propounded by the Authour, *viz.*

CONCERNING

The *multiplying of the Children of* Israel *in* Egypt.

SIR,

SINCE You were pleas'd to requeſt my poor aſſiſtance in the ſolution of the following Queſtion, to ſhew my readineſs to ſerve You, I ſet my ſelf about it: I confeſs, at firſt I expected nothing but dry Arithmetical matter to work upon; but upon farther conſideration, I found the Subject You had given me, of a more extenſive nature than ſo, fit to be repleniſh'd with other more uſeful conſiderations,

tions, and capable of a more noble improvement than I am able to beſtow upon it; yet ſuch as that is, here You have it. Your Queſtion is this,

How from ſeventy Males only, in no longer ſpace than two hundred and ten years, (as your Chronologer reckons) wherein the Iſraelites ſojourned in *Egypt*, there could be produc'd at their firſt numbring in the Wilderneſs no leſs than ſix hundred and three thouſand, five hundred and fifty, from twenty years old and upwards, beſides the Tribe of *Levi* which amounted to two and twenty thouſand Males, from a Month old and upwards; and how the probability of this may be demonſtrated, ſo as to ſtop the mouths of ſuch as *Porphyry* and *Celſus*, without refuge to a vaſt multitude of Twins, or a miraculous continuance of the power of generation in that people more than any other, of which we have no mention in prophane Writers?

Gen. 46. 47.
Deut. 10. 22.
Numb. 1. 46. & 3. 39.

To this I doubt not but to return ſuch an Anſwer as ſhall ſatisfie any reaſonable man, and your ſelf in particular; and having done that, I think I ſhall have done all that You expected from me, towards the ſilencing ſuch as are of *Celſus*'s

and

and *Porphyry*'s Creed in this matter; if ſuch as they may properly be ſaid to have any Creed, whoſe Faith revers'd, conſiſts in disbelieving.

Nor is this the only good effect of ſuch undertakings, (if duly perform'd) For although Chriſtians, believing the holy Scriptures to be from God who cannot lye, do generally take God Almighty's word for the truth of thoſe things that are there revealed, without a ſtrict ſcrutiny and examination of the things themſelves; yet if after aſſent given to the holy Scriptures as the word of God, thoſe amongſt them who are qualified with abilities, eſpecially ſuch as Your Self who ſerve at the Altar, and whoſe lips preſerve knowledge, do ſearch and dive into the particular Circumſtances of any thing there related, of an unuſual and ſurprizing nature, ſuch as this ſeems to be at firſt view; and when upon ſuch ſearch, the thing appears upon rational grounds, not only poſſible but, very likely to be effected: This not only puts to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men, but highly confirms Believers themſelves in their moſt holy faith, and encourages them on other occaſions to acquieſce and rely intirely on the truth

truth of God's word, when their limited finite faculties cannot fathom the reasons either of the thing or Command revealed.

Without any farther Preface therefore: Give me leave, Sir, to affirm, That in the matter before us there is no need of flying to an extraordinary multiplication by Twins; I say, Extraordinary; for there is no reason to exclude it in the ordinary course of nature, because we see it frequently happen amongst our selves, and I believe .. might be more frequent among the Israelites, even from natural causes, such as the simplicity of their Diet above ours, and the more fertile pregnancy of that Climate, where Nature is more perfect, and better digested by the nearer approach of the Sun who quickneth all things, and is reputed by Philosophers to have a peculiar influence in the work of generation; insomuch that it passes for an uncontrouled Maxim amongst them, and a kind of *Postulatum*, that *Sol & homo generant hominem.*

And as little need is there of a miraculous power of Generation, unless we will multiply miracles unnecessarily, by styling every eminent Blessing by that Title,

Title, which is ſent in performance of a promiſe; then indeed the great encreaſe of this people would paſs for a miracle of the firſt rank: For never was any promiſe oftener reiterated than this, as if the Benediction vied in proportion and analogy to the nature of the Bleſſing it ſelf, which conſiſted in number. Had the Iſraelitiſh Women been all old *Sarahs*, nay had they been young *Rachels* or *Rebeccahs*, and their Husbands confin'd to them, nothing leſs than a miracle could have done it: But as it is, it holds no higher denomination than that of a very great Bleſſing, which I look upon as a *medium* betwixt the ordinary courſe of Nature and a Miracle, and much nearer of kin to the former than the latter; becauſe there is nothing in it either *præter* or *contra Naturam*.

The ſeveral promiſes of encreaſe before mentioned, being the foundation whereon I ſhall build my Superſtructure, it will not be amiſs to take a tranſient view of ſome of them, and the wording of them; where we ſhall find a moſt remarkable exuberancy, good meaſure, preſs'd down, and running over; ſuch as theſe, *Gen.* 13.16. *I will make thy ſeed*, ſays God to *Abraham*, *as the duſt of the earth*: *ſo*

ſo that if a man can number the duſt of the earth, then ſhall thy ſeed alſo be numbred. Gen. 15. 5. *And* God *brought* Abraham *forth abroad, and ſaid, Look now towards Heaven, and tell the Stars if thou be able to number them; So ſhall thy ſeed be.* Gen. 22. 16, 17. *By my ſelf have I ſworn, ſaith the Lord, That in bleſſing I will bleſs thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy ſeed as the ſtars of heaven, and as the ſand which is upon the Sea-ſhore.* And although we may think that this promiſe was partly made good in *Iſhmael* and *Abraham*'s other Sons, and alſo in *Eſau*; from all which great Nations were deſcended: yet that is a miſtake, for although they did ſeem materially to make good theſe promiſes of encreaſe, yet formally they did not, *quatenus* a promiſe; but they were thrown in by God *ex abundanti*, and on the account of other bye promiſes, ſuch as that to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 17. 10, 11. and were mere *Anomala's* in reſpect of the main Promiſe, *Gen.* 21. 12. *For in Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called:* To whom the Promiſe is renewed in Perſon, *Gen.* 26. 3, 4. *I will perform the oath which I ſware unto Abraham thy Father, and I will make thy ſeed to multiply as the ſtars of*

of Heaven. Then the ſame promiſe is renewed again (twice) to *Jacob*, not to *Eſau*, *Gen.* 35. 11. where God uſhers it in with this remarkable Preface, *I am God Almighty*, and therefore able to perform what I promiſe in ſpight of all oppoſition from Men or Devils: The Promiſe it ſelf runs thus, *Be fruitful and multiply; a Nation and company of Nations ſhall be of thee.* Where the firſt part is but a repetition of the Bleſſing given to *Adam* for peopling the whole World at firſt, and afterwards to *Noah* and his Sons for re-peopling it, when it had been deſtroyed by the Floud; as if little *Goſhen* were to be equivalent to the whole World beſides: at leaſt, it was to be God's Nurſery or Seed-plot, where he raiſed almoſt his full number of Stocks, and only tranſplants them into *Canaan*, inſomuch that if they had continued but twenty years longer in *Egypt*, they would have encreaſed to a greater number in that ſhort ſpace than they did in four hundred ſeventy three years that they were in the Wilderneſs and *Canaan*, as I ſhall demonſtrate. So that it was *Egypt* where all theſe ſeveral promiſes, as to number, do chiefly terminate at laſt and diſcharge themſelves,

as all the Rivers do into the Ocean: And this appears farther yet from the laſt of all theſe Promiſes, *Gen.* 46. 3. *Fear not, Jacob, to go down into Egypt: for I will* THERE *make of thee a great Nation.* Which Promiſe is limited to the time of the Iſraelites ſojourning in *Egypt*, and is exactly contemporary with the two hundred and ten years in the Queſtion now handled: So that the veracity of God himſelf was highly concerned to ſee this Promiſe performed within that compaſs of time: and when once that is expired, then they who were preſerv'd before, intire as it were in the hollow of his hand (as I ſhall make appear at large) were delivered up to ſeveral waſting Judgments in the Wilderneſs, ſuch as the Earth opening her mouth to ſwallow up the two hundred and fifty * Princes of the Aſſembly, famous in the Congregation, men of renown, their Wives || and their little Ones, and all that appertain'd † or adher'd to them in that revolt; beſides this, they are ſmitten with four ſeveral Plagues of Peſtilence, and in ſeveral Battels great numbers fall by their Enemies Swords. And *Numb.* 21. 6. *The Lord ſent fiery Serpents among the people,*

* Numb. 16. 2, 3, 5.
|| Ver. 27.
† Ver. 33.

who

who bit them: ſo that much people of Iſrael dyed. And that mighty power which was wholly employed for their preſervation during the two hundred and ten years of their abode in *Egypt*, is, after their delivery thence, employed to their deſtruction on ſeveral provocations from their ſins, *When Jeſurun waxed fat and kicked*; whereas their miſerable and afflicted condition in *Egypt* was a means from God of making them more humble, and therefore more fit for the Divine protection, till ſuch time as he had made good that promiſe to *Jacob* before recited, *Fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great Nation.*

Beſides theſe ſeveral promiſes to *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, we read *Gen.* 48. 16. that when the laſt of theſe upon his death-bed, adopting *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh* for his own, transferr'd this Bleſſing upon them alſo, ſaying, *Let them grow into a multitude*, the Margin reads it, *As Fiſhes do encreaſe*; and that You will allow, Sir, to be even faſter than by Twins. Their great Sacrament alſo of Circumciſion *in partibus genitalibus*, I take to be a moſt proper *Memorandum* and Token of this Promiſe of encreaſe.

But although this Promiſe had never been made, nor Circumciſion inſtituted; yet would it be but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, That that Primitive Bleſſing, *Be fruitful and multiply*, which was given in the Garden, ſhould have a more eminent accompliſhment in God's own encloſure the Church, than amongſt His and His Church's Enemies; eſpecially conſidering the Circumſtances of the Jewiſh Church and people, that they were to ſubdue Nations great and mighty before they could be ſetled in the promiſed *Canaan:* And when they were ſetled there, they were environ'd with Nations round about, like a Garden in the midſt of a Foreſt of wild Beaſts, who would be continually breaking in upon them to devour them, if God had not proportioned their numbers to a competency of defence and reſiſtance, and the whole Church would have wanted that Priviledge and Bleſſing, which was the lot of many private Believers, *viz.* Not to be aſhamed when ſhe ſpake with her Enemies in the Gate.

Having ſpoken of the Promiſe, the next thing will be, to conſider the means of its accompliſhment; which I take to be

be two especially: The first is, The advantage of Concubines; which they could not cashier without differing from the examples of their Ancestors. And doubtless that Custom which was introduced at first by *Lamech*, was not only connived at (but encouraged by God's appearing to *Hagar*, and promising so bountifully in the behalf of *Ishmael*, *Gen.* 17. 10, 11.) in order to fulfil the Promise of Encrease in due season, and in God's appointed time, and in imitation of *Abraham* and *Jacob*, did that Nation retain that Custom, not only in *Egypt*, but even till *Shiloh* came. I shall confirm the truth of this by two or three Quotations only, out of the learned *Selden*, *De Jure Naturali Gentium*, &c. where he cites *Maimonides* saying, *Fas est cuiq; quotcunque, etiam centum Uxores, sive simul omnes, sive alteram post alteram ducere, neque potestas Uxori antea ductæ virum heic impediendi, modò illi potestas fuerit præstare alimenta, vestitum, atque debitum conjugale.* The other Citation is of an Author with a deadly hard Hebrew name, which I therefore omit; who says, *Qui dicit, Plures Uxores simul interdictas esse, notum sit, eum nec morum nec juris esse peritum, nam*

multi juſti acceperunt binas Uxores, velut Elcana, David, Solomon: Et in Libro Paralipomenon multi memorantur, quibus binæ Uxores. Mr *Selden* in the ſame Chap. 7. Book 5. quotes St *Auguſtine* ſaying, *Prolis gratiâ Patres ſanctos ex Abraham & ante Abraham, quibus Deus, quòd ei placuerint, perhibet teſtimonium, uſos fuiſſe conjugibus, neminem oportet dubitare Chriſtianum, quando quibuſdam etiam ſingulis plures habere conceſſum eſt, ubi ratio fuit prolis multiplicandæ, non variandæ appetitio voluptatis.* But becauſe we are ſo over-run with *Grotius* in *England* of late years, that nothing will go down with our modiſh Divines but what *Grotius* has chew'd for them; and if He does but ſay it, down it goes, right or wrong; inſomuch that they can no more write without *Grotius*, *Grotius*, than a Carmelite Nun can drop her Beads without exhibiting particular devotion to the *Virgin Mary*, her peculiar Patroneſs, the Lady of Mount *Carmel*; I therefore refer You to his Second Book and Fifth Chapter *de Jure Belli ac Pacis*, where he ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe with Mr *Selden*'s Rabbies. And if it were both lawful and commendable to have ſecondary Wives or Concubines,

it

it is not to be doubted but that it was generally practiſed, though the Scriptures ſpeak but little of it; becauſe there is but little occaſion to ſpeak of any Concubines. In the 20th of *Judges* there is a Relation concerning a Levite, who with his Concubine came to lodge in *Gibeah* of *Benjamin*, where the luſtful Inhabitants forced his Concubine till ſhe dyed in the Street; whereupon the Levite makes no more Bones of his old Familiar, but ſlices her in pieces, and ſends a part to every Tribe, except *Benjamin*, where the fact was committed; who refuſing to deliver up the men of *Gibeah* to Juſtice, the other Tribes, to revenge the murder and the injuſtice of the *Benjamites* in protecting the Murderers, proclaim War againſt them; which coſt the bloud of above fourſcore thouſand men: And upon this great and remarkable occaſion the Levites Concubine is mentioned, which otherwiſe would never have been taken notice of in the Scripture. But although neither this Concubine nor her Husband had been mentioned, it would have been but a weak Argument to have ſaid that no Levite ever had a Concubine, becauſe then none had been mentioned at

all; for this Levite had had a Concubine, though this fatal accident had never happened, which was the only occasion of informing us particularly that a Levite ever had a Concubine. The like may be concluded of the twelve Patriarchs, and their Deſcendents in *Egypt*, though the Scriptures ſay nothing of their Concubines; for I have already obſerved, that that was the main critical time to make uſe of that advantage for encreaſe, and that liberty was too pleaſant and agreeable to corrupt Nature to be laid aſide upon a ſudden, or waved; we ſee both *Reuben*, *Gen.* 35. 22. and *Judah*, *Gen.* 38. were brisk and ſanguine men, and therefore more likely to be fond of having Concubines than their chaſter Progenitors. Fleſh and blood is highly pleaſed to be indulged in matters of this nature; and our Saviours denying this Priviledge by reducing marriage to its primitive inſtitution between one Man and one Woman, and paring away the Appendix of Concubinage, making no *medium* between ſuch marriage and fornication, might be no ſmall ſtumbling-block to the Jews, and might make ſome of them like the young man in the Goſpel, to go away

away ſorrowful, for that they had, or at leaſt intended to have, beloved poſſeſſions of this nature. And as it might be and ſtill is ſome diſadvantage to the ready embracing of the Chriſtian Religion, the abridging of this liberty; ſo the allowing and encouraging of it was the Maſter-piece of Policy in that great Impoſtor *Mahomet*, and prov'd too powerful a Bait to draw the World after him. And although the preſent Jews are not over-fond of this Priviledge, and make but ſparing uſe of it; yet the reaſon of this abſtemiouſneſs is not at all on the account of Conſcience, (for they do in ſome meaſure practiſe it to this day) but by reaſon of the inconvenience of it: For ſince the deſtruction of their Country and Temple by that Heathen Emperor *Veſpaſian*, and his Son *Titus*, (who yet by God's Providence were made the Revengers of the precious bloud of Chriſt) they have been ſcattered abroad upon the face of the Earth, and by the juſt Judgment of God they are generally look'd upon with an evil eye, and are become *ludibrium humani generis*, liable not only to the juſt and real diſguſt of Princes, but to their very Capricio's, and to be baniſh'd

niſh'd at every turn out of their Dominions; and they who have occaſion to remove houſholds often, have little reaſon to be fond of encreaſing their luggage and their lumber.

From what has been ſaid, I think it appears highly improbable that the Patriarchs and their Poſterity in *Egypt* ſhould on a ſudden quit that Cuſtom which claimed the poſſeſſion of ſo many years as from *Lamech*, long before the Floud, down to *Jacob*; and therefore we are not to meaſure their Corn by our cut Buſhel, nor their encreaſe by what is now adays, when that advantage of Concubinage is (or at leaſt ſhould be) taken away. And yet we are not without examples of prodigious fertility where there has been neither Miſs nor Concubine in the Caſe: I my ſelf have ſeen a Woman within four miles of my own houſe at *Winchfield*, whoſe eldeſt Son *John Hawkins* (that dyed but laſt year at about ninety years of Age, being healthy and ſtrong, and a man of a very good underſtanding) told me, that there were no leſs than ſeventy five in a Room together at one time that ask'd his Mother bleſſing, Children, Grand-Children, and Great Grand-

Grand-Children, beſides above forty more that were not preſent. *Famianus Strada, lib. 1. de Bello,* tells us that *Juliana,* Mother to the famous Prince of *Orange,* liv'd to ſee a hundred and fifty ask her Bleſſing, that were deſcended from her. And our own Chronicles mention one *William Somerſet* Earl of *Worceſter,* who was ſo numerous in his Off-ſpring, that he could reckon more Children of both Sexes than all the Earls of *England* beſides, and this was within this hundred years. And *Fuller* in his Worthies of *England* ſpeaks of a Lady *Temple,* who ſaw above ſix hundred that were deſcended from her own Body, if I am not miſtaken; whereas *Jacob* himſelf had but twelve Sons: And although each of them might have the like number, yet the eleven that went with him into *Egypt* had but about five apiece at the time of their going thither, reckoning one with another, which yet is as great a number as I ſhall have occaſion for in this matter.

Before I diſmiſs this buſineſs of Concubinage, it will not be amiſs to enquire whence the Hebrews were ſtock'd with ſuch a number of Women more than Men; for every Man having but one Con-

Concubine beſides his Wife, the number muſt be double, which is the moſt probable proportion: For though ſome like *Jacob* might have more than one, yet 'tis probable that others might imitate *Iſaac*, and have none at all. I find in my Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*'s moſt learned and judicious Diſcourſe of the Origination of Mankind, a little Book quoted with a great commendation, written as I think by one Captain *Grant*, who among other moſt ingenious Obſervations from the Bills of Births and Burials in *London* for almoſt a hundred years together, demonſtrates that the number of Males to Females is as fifteen to thirteen, which is eight Men to leſs than ſeven Women; the wiſe Providence of God allowing that redundance in the Males for Wars and Shipwracks, and other accidents, to which Men are more expoſed than Women. But although Providence ſhould have furniſhed the Iſraelites with as great a redundance of Women (the ſame Providence ſheltring this people from Wars under the protection of the Egyptians, and they being Shepherds, not Mariners) yet ſtill there will want a great ſupply to make the number of Women double to that of Men: And

whence

whence can this ſupply come, but from the neighbouring Quarters of the Midianites and others? We ſee *Moſes* takes one of his Wives from thence, the Daughter of *Jethro*, who ſeems, *Exod.* 18. 9, 10, 11, 12. to be a pious good man, and a true Worſhipper, and not tainted with Idolatry as moſt of the Midianites were, *Numb.* 25. notwithſtanding their deſcent from the Father of the faithful, and their retaining Circumciſion; for thoſe Texts, *Exod.* 4. 25, 26. are groſly miſrendred, as Mr *Mede* has evidently proved. Nay, it is not improbable, that the Iſraelites might be furniſhed with Handmaids or Concubines from their Neighbours the Egyptians; for that abomination or antipathy which the Egyptians had for eating Bread with the Hebrews, *Gen.* 43. 32. ſeems to have been on the account of their Profeſſion only, as they were Shepherds, *Gen.* 46. 34. and to have been little elſe but an averſion to the ſmell of a Tar-pot, which by mutual converſe would eaſily wear out, and be laid aſide. For that reaſon which Interpreters give of this abomination, *viz.* Becauſe the Iſraelites eat Fleſh from which the Egyptians abſtained, and more than that,

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the Fleſh of the Oxe and Sheep which were the Idols or Repreſentative Gods of the Egyptians; this ſeems to me to be of little force, for then they muſt have had all other Nations in abomination that eat Leeks or Onions, as well as the Iſraelites for Fleſh.

Porrum & Cæpe nefas violare, & lædere morſu:
Fælices Gentes, quorum hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina! ——
—— *Quis neſcit qualia demens*
Ægyptus portenta colit?

The more probable account of this antipathy is given by *Bochartus* in his *Canaan*; and by *Grotius* out of *Manetho*, the moſt ancient Egyptian Hiſtorian, who ſays, that on the account of the different manner of life of the Shepherds of *Egypt* from the reſt of the people, there aroſe in ancient times dreadful Wars, and the Shepherds getting the maſtery revenged themſelves with fire and ſword, and burnt down the Cities, which made them be hated ever after; ſo that the antipathy ſeems to have been of the ſame nature with that of French and Spaniards now, and of French and

and Engliſh heretofore; when Wars and emulation ſtirred up hatred, which in the ordinary people is not forgotten to this day: Notwithſtanding, this ſpight and emulation was among the men only, who were the mutual Rivals, and was not extended to different Sexes on either ſide, ſo as to abate that kindneſs and inclination which was ingraffed by Nature for its own preſervation, as appears by the intermarriages of French and Spaniards now, and of French and Engliſh formerly; as our Hiſtories abundantly teſtifie. The like may be ſaid of the Hebrews and Egyptians; for we find there was a friendly correſpondence and neighbourhood amongſt them, nay they ſojourned with the Iſraelites in their houſes, *Exod.* 3. 22. And *Exod.* 1. the Egyptian Midwives are made uſe of by the Hebrew Women in their extremity of Child-bearing, and expreſs ſo much compaſſion towards them as to diſobey *Pharaoh* for their ſakes, and then excuſe their ſo doing with a lye, notwithſtanding they are ſaid to fear God. But that which is more than to take a Concubine, we find that *Joſeph* takes to Wife the Daughter of the Prieſt of *On*, and by her

her had *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, who gave denomination to one of the greatest Tribes, an honour denyed to the rest of *Jacob*'s Grand-Children; their Mother being an Egyptian was no Bar in the way, the Males only in all the Genealogies of the Hebrews being accounted for the Seed. So then if *Joseph* might take a Wife notwithstanding the abomination which the Egyptian men had for the Hebrews, much more might others take Concubines in imitation of that great Hebrew of the Hebrews, *Abraham* himself, whose beloved *Agar* was an Egyptian. Thus much I thought fit to say of this matter, that when I had stated the numbers of Men and Women among the Israelites, I might not be brought to an after-reckoning about the Concubines.

The next advantage for encrease and multiplying, one would think should be the longævity of those times; but I confess I question whether that were any such advantage; for as they continued to get Children longer, so they began later. *Isaac* and *Esau* were forty years of Age before they married, *Abraham* and *Jacob* a great deal older; and perhaps Nature was not so forward then as it

it is now; but as it came to its period later, ſo likewiſe to its maturity; and the reaſon why it arrives at its journey's end the ſooner now, may be becauſe it treads ſwifter paces to perfection, Nature obſerving a due proportion in its three great Stages, Maturation, Vigour and Decay: according to that true Proverb, *Soon ripe, ſoon rotten*; to which anſwers, Late ripe, late rotten: And we ſee, that thoſe Creatures which are ripe for Generation at two or three years old, as Horſes and Cows, though they far exceed Man in ſtrength, yet they ſeldom live to be much above twenty years of Age. Now although the firſt Deſcendants into *Egypt* for a hundred years or more, might in all probability live to a greater Age than Men do now; ſo from what I have now ſaid, I think 'tis probable alſo that they married later, whereby we ſhould loſe *à parte ante* almoſt as much as we ſhould gain *à parte poſt*, by continuing the work of generation longer: I ſhall therefore ſuppoſe the Age of Man then to be the ſame that it is now, for it ſeems to have had a gradual decreaſe from the time of the Floud till the time of *Moſes*, or a little before, who in the 90th Pſalm, which was of his Penning,

ning, ſtates the Age of Man at three-ſcore and ten, and that Men were ſo ſtrong that they came to fourſcore years, which is uſual in our days. We muſt not therefore ſtate the Age of the Iſraelites in *Egypt* at a hundred and ten, or an hundred and twenty years, becauſe *Moſes*, *Aaron* and *Joſhua* arrived to thoſe years: For doubtleſs *Moſes* ſpeaks not in that Pſalm as a Prophet of what would be hereafter, but as a Divine Philoſopher and Obſerver of Nature in the people whom he led, and there turns that Obſervation into Devotion and pious Contemplation of the vanity of our nature. And the great Age which thoſe three Worthies arrived at was a peculiar Bleſſing from God on their particular Perſons (not common to others) for the ends of his Providence, they being highly favoured of God, and choſen Inſtruments for that great and wonderful adminiſtration in the Wilderneſs, and for the plantation and ſettlement of God's Church and people in the promiſed *Canaan*: And of *Moſes* in particular it is ſaid, that his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated, *Deut.* 34. 7. at a hundred and twenty years of Age; which could not be by

by the ordinary power of nature, when the generality of Mankind attained but to fourſcore, and that with labour and ſorrow, *Pſal.* 90. but by the extraordinary bleſſing and ſupport of the God of Nature, in whom we live and move and have our being; nor is this to be lookt upon as any other than part of the recompence of reward to him who was faithful in all God's houſe, *Numb.* 12.7. Nay, the kindneſs of God ſeems to extend even to his dead Body, as well as to his living, bearing it away (as it were ſurreptitiouſly) in his owns arms, digs his Grave with his own hands, and covers him with Earth; thus bereaving the rebellious Tribes of the honour of his Interment, to perform his Obſequies Himſelf, *Deut.* 34.

This longævity therefore of the Patriarchs affording little or no advantage above the ſhorter lives, but more early pregnancy of the latter Generations in *Egypt*; I proceed to that which You will ſay was a great advantage indeed, which is the ſecond means that conduc'd to bring about the accompliſhment of the Promiſe of multiplying the Poſterity of *Jacob* exceedingly, that is, with more than the uſual encreaſe of the reſt of

Mankind; and that is, The watchful Providence and protection of that God who promiſed: And indeed I am apt to think, that the vaſt encreaſe of the Iſraelites proceeded more from God's great care in the preſervation of thoſe that were born, than from their own extraordinary fertility above all other people, that had both Wives and Concubines as well as they. For although the Promiſe contained fruitfulneſs as well as multiplication, yet that was promiſed only as the means conducing to that end; ſo that if their fertility ſufficed for that, both parts of the promiſe were exactly fulfilled, though there were no exuberant Numbers of Supernumeraries, as it were for food for thoſe three great Devourers, Famines, Wars, and Peſtilences; they being exempted from thoſe three Calamities by the ſpecial Providence of God over them: But leſt this ſhould be thought to be ſaid *gratis*, I ſhall therefore endeavour to prove it.

And in order to that, it is worth obſerving, That *Moſes*, who writes the Hiſtory of this people from the very Creation, diſpatches that great interval of above ſixteen hundred and fifty years from

from the Fall to the Floud, in three Chapters, *viz.* *Gen.* 4, 5, 6. whereas the reſt of the Book, which is no leſs than forty four Chapters, is ſpent wholly on no longer an interval than to the death of *Joſeph*, which is ſcarce ſix hundred and ſixty years; and ſtill the nearer he comes to his own times, the more his Hiſtory ſwells, like great Rivers, the farther from the Spring the larger they grow, by the confluence of more ſtreams: For although his inſpiration to write truth, was equal throughout, yet the Tradition, which (for the moſt part) furniſhed him with the Subject matter of that truth was not equal; the Tradition of the firſt Ages being very ſcanty, and almoſt worn out as it were by paſſing through ſo many hands: whereas thoſe things which were tranſacted at a leſs diſtance of time, could not ſo eaſily either be forgotten or corrupted; ſo that theſe came in greater number, more intire and certain, and cloathed in their particular circumſtances: whereby it ſeems to me highly improbable that *Moſes* ſhould be ignorant of any conſiderable Calamity that befell this people, that was of ſo late a Date as their coming into *Egypt*; which was but

about thirteen years before he himſelf came into the World, and therefore the knowledge of it had been eaſily handed down to him from ſo ſmall a diſtance, without the help of ſupernatural revelation, which he was alſo furniſhed withal, to ſupply the defects of Oral Tradition in that Hiſtory which he wrote. Now if he could not be ignorant of it, and yet concealed it, I conceive this cannot be ſuppoſed without queſtioning his fidelity as God's own Hiſtoriographer, who yet has this teſtimony even from God himſelf, That he was faithful in all his houſe, *Numb.* 12. 7. that is, in all that wherewith God entruſted him, whereof the penning this ſacred Hiſtory was a part. But beſides his fidelity, his tender affection to this people, for whoſe ſake he quitted the glory and pleaſures of the Egyptian Court, refuſing to be called the Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, and afterwards in the Wilderneſs deſires God to blot him out of his Book, rather than they ſhould be deſtroyed; I ſay this tender affection could not ſuffer him to omit the recording any conſiderable calamity that befel their Community, and that with as much commiſeration, and in

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as relenting a ſtrain, as he does the buſineſs of the Taskmaſters. And though they had fallen into the hands of God himſelf, by ſome raging Peſtilence, and not of man (as the other was) yet doubtleſs his great piety would not have failed to have pointed out thoſe ſins which provoked that judgment, nor to have celebrated God's mercy for ſaying to the deſtroying Angel, *It is enough.* This therefore being cleared, That *Moſes* could neither be ignorant nor ſilent of any conſiderable Calamity that befel this people in *Egypt*, let us in the next place ſee whether he mentions or but hints at either Famine, War or Peſtilence.

As for Famine, we read of none, ſave that which firſt brought them into *Egypt*; and when *Jacob* and his Family came down to ſettle there, it was to this very end, That they might be preſerved from the evil effects of that Famine which was in *Canaan*, and in all thoſe parts, whereof there were five years yet to come, *Gen.* 45. 11. There is as little alſo ſaid of their being oppreſſed by War or Invaſion on their ſmall Territory by the Neighbouring Midianites and Arabians, or any others: nor

is it probable that the Kings of *Egypt* made any use of them in their Wars, they being Strangers charitably sheltered for their Brothers sake, under the protection of the Egyptians. For when they were but few, they could afford but sorry assistance; and when they became many, 'twas no policy to arm a Province of Strangers in the Bowels of the Country, and teach them the Art of War: And when they began to multiply, the Egyptians were so far from this, that they grew jealous of them, *Exod.* 1. 10. lest when there fell out War, they should join unto their Enemies, and fight against them. As for the Pestilence, we find not one word of that neither: That they were very subject to the Leprosie, is very certain; and though it be as certain that that was very infectious, sore and noysome, and called a Plague, yet that it was frequently mortal seems to me very improbable for two reasons; the first is, Because we never read of any that dyed of it, or at least of any considerable numbers; which is sufficient to my purpose: The other reason is, Because the Law seems to suppose the recovery of those that had it, as much as it did Women in Child-bed,

bed, becauſe it appoints Rites and Offerings after recovery in both Caſes, and both together, *Lev.* 12, 13, 14. I confeſs it appoints more large Offerings and more Rites for cleanſing the recovered Leper, than in the othe Caſe, to denote the impurity of the one to be far greater than that of the other; the one being according to the Law of Natures Oeconomy, the other an accident and a diſeaſe and the conſequent of ſin. But although this denotes the impurity to be of a different nature, and far greater; yet does it not denote the danger to be greater: the Law by appointing the Rites of cleanſing ſeems to ſuppoſe in general the recovery of both; and though ſome might dye of the Leproſie, ſo likewiſe did ſome in Child-bed: but that it was any way comparable to the Plague, properly ſo called, is no way credible; there being no Rites nor Offerings appointed for that in particular, becauſe the Law ſuppoſed the Plague mortal. I remember I have read in ſome Author, whoſe name I have forgot, as not worth remembring, of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe Gentlemen You mention, *Celſus* and *Porphyry*, How that the Egyptians deſired nothing more than to

be rid of the Iſraelites, and that that Army wherewith *Pharaoh* purſued them, according to *Moſes*'s relation, this Author ſays went to drive them out of the Country as a Herd of unclean Beaſts and noyſom Lepers. Now although this account be notoriouſly falſe, yet it affords this Obſervation, That the Leproſie was not accounted mortal, like the Plague of Peſtilence; for ſurely then this Authour, who ſeem'd to me to be more Knave than Fool, would not have made the Egyptians to have followed the fatal ſcent ſo cloſe at the heels with their King at the Head of them, by whoſe life they ſwore. Nor had it been any more for *Moſes*, but only to have commanded out a Brigade or two of Lepers, and by that means have ſeen that literally fulfilled which was promiſed afterwards, *Joſh.* 23. 10. *One man of you ſhall chaſe a thouſand*; or elſe he might have fac'd about, and placing death and deſtruction in the Front, eaſily have ſaved the expence of a Miracle, and in this poſture have march'd back again to their beloved old Quarters, as this Author ſuppoſes them. The Leproſie therefore being of no ſuch mortal Nature, and there being no hint of any other Epidemical Diſeaſe of a fatal

fatal Nature amongſt this people during their abode; I therefore conclude that they were guarded by God's eſpecial Providence in this reſpect, as well as from the direful effects of War and Famine.

But this will yet appear with greater evidence, if we take a view of God's tender affection and care over this people in ſupporting them under thoſe afflictions which he was pleaſed to ſuffer to be brought upon them. During the life of *Joſeph* all was well, and they liv'd at great eaſe by means of his intereſt at Court, nay their happineſs ſeems to be of equal continuance with the memory of that good man; but he being gone to his Fathers, and to his Grave in peace and honour, at length in proceſs of time, it is ſaid, (*Ex.* 1.8.) that *there aroſe a King which knew not Joſeph*, nor how ſerviceable he had been both to Prince and people in the time of *Egypt*'s calamity. And he taking notice (*ver.* 9.) that the Iſraelites were more and mightier than his own people, he ſeems reſolved to put a ſtop to their growing numbers, to keep *Jacob* from overflowing, and Iſrael within his Banks: *Come*, ſays he ver. 10. *let us deal wiſely with this people, leſt they multiply*,

tiply, and it come to paſs, that when there falleth out any War, they join alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and ſo get them out of the Land: By which means part of his Territories would have been unpeopled, and he would have loſt above half his Subjects, or rather Slaves. And in order to accompliſh this Project of checking their numbers from growing to an ungovernable bulk, *ver.* 11. therefore did they ſet over them Taskmaſters to afflict them with their burthens: Nor were theſe Taskmaſters negligent in the execution of their Office, as appears by theſe ſeveral words which the Holy Ghoſt makes uſe of to ſet forth the miſery of this poor diſtreſſed people, ſuch as Affliction, Oppreſſion, Rigour, Burdens, cruel Bondage, all manner of Service, ſighing, crying, groaning, anguiſh of Spirit, and *ver.* 14. life it ſelf is become bitter; and *chap.* 2. 11. there *Moſes* finds an Egyptian baſtinading a poor Hebrew Slave at ſuch an inhumane rate, as it provoked the meekeſt of men to become both his Judge and his Executioner upon the place. And doubtleſs, the ſlavery of the Spaniſh Mines at *Peru* and *Mexico*, no nor of the Turkiſh Gallies, is to be compared

to

to this of *Egypt*; for there the Maſters intereſt pleads for the preſervation of the Slave, whereas the very deſign of this ſeems with more than barbarous drudgery to make their Souls quit their harraſſed Bodies, and by deſtroying a great part of the preſent Generation, prevent their multiplying in the next. But what is the effect of all this barbarous cruelty, *Exod.* 1. 12. The more they afflicted them, the more they grew; though the Buſh was on fire, yet was it not conſumed.

The ſecond Project of *Pharaoh*'s to give a check to their encreaſe was, By tampering with the Midwives: But here God defeats him again; for they feared God (*ver.* 17.) and did not as the King commanded them. Then in the third place, the ſame Command is iſſued out by Proclamation to all his Subjects whatſoever, *ver.* 22. And then *Moſes* is born, and ſtrangely preſerved, even by the Tyrants own Daughter, whom God afterwards employs as the chief inſtrument of their delivery, in ſpight of all Egyptian policy and force: So vain is it to fight againſt God; and if He be for Iſrael, let *Pharaoh* do his worſt. It is alſo remarkable, that beſides the deſtruction

which

which fell to the ſhare of the Egyptians at the Red Sea, two of the ten Plagues are of the ſame nature with thoſe which *Pharaoh* intended againſt Iſrael: For as he intended to diminiſh their numbers, by cruſhing them into their Graves by heavy burthens and intolerable, *Exod.* 1. 11. *Exod.* 5. 45. *Exod.* 6. 6. ſo God diminiſhes *Pharaoh's* people with the Plague of Hail, which cruſh'd all that were abroad in the Field, even to the Earth, *Exod.* 9. 25. And the death of the firſt born of *Egypt* ſeems to retaliate what he would have done by the Midwives; though this be threatned indeed on a more general account, *Exod.* 4. 22, 23. *Thus ſaith the Lord, Iſrael is my Son, even my firſt-born; let my Son go, that he may ſerve me: And if thou refuſe to let him go, behold I will ſlay thy Son, even thy firſt-born.* Now if God appear thus eminently, not only to preſerve Iſrael intire from being diminiſhed in his promiſed numbers in the midſt of this Furnace of afflictions, but even to repay in kind that vengeance which was intended againſt them, certainly he would not deſtroy them himſelf by Famine or Peſtilence; nor is there any reaſon to ſuppoſe that there was not an

even

even hand of Providence over them for good in one reſpect as well as another, and at one time as well as another. Can we think that God who promiſed *Jacob*, *Gen.* 46. 3. to go down with him into *Egypt*, and ſurely to bring him thence again, would leave him one minute whilſt he was there, unleſs we think the God of Iſrael to be ſome times like booted *Baal*, whom the Prophet *Elijah* wittily upbraids to be taking of a journey? I therefore conclude, that as they were extraordinarily ſupported under their afflictions from *Pharaoh*, ſo likewiſe that they were guarded from thoſe three Calamities, Famine, War and Peſtilence; and that it may be truly ſaid of theſe, as it is of the Plague of Hail, *Exod.* 9. 26. *Only in the Land of Goſhen, where the Children of Iſrael were, was there no hail.*

Seeing then that theſe People were thus cheriſhed under the wings of Gods ſpecial Providence and protection from thoſe ſweeping Calamities which the ſame God inflicts upon other particular Nations; and that frequently, not only as the Puniſher of ſin, but as the great Governour of the World, and for the good of the whole, in order to keep the

Race

Race of Mankind within ſuch Bounds, that the Creatures may ſuffice for food and clothing, which they could not do if thoſe three great Correctives were wholly intermitted but for one Century; I ſay what wonder is it, that they who were thus cheriſhed by God as a Father and Sponſor, and under his immediate protection, (unleſs that protection it ſelf be a wonder) ſhould be ſo very fruitful in reſpect of adult numbers, though they were not prodigiouſly fruitful above the Egyptians and other people, in reſpect of the numbers of Infants born, who had both Wives and Concubines as well as they? For as other Nations, ſo particularly the Egyptians, are frequently ſubject to very conſiderable abatements in their numbers, by thoſe three calamities before mentioned, eſpecially the Peſtilence in that ſultry Climate, where the River *Nile* every *June*, which is a hot time of Year alſo, leaves abundance of mud upon the ſurface of that flat Country at his return into his old Channel, which muſt needs ſend forth noyſom ſmells and vapours into the Air; from whence ariſe Plagues and other Epidemical Diſeaſes, eſpecially where people live at eaſe and luxu-

ry,

ry, and crowded together in Cities: whereas the Iſraelites manner of life, they being Shepherds, whoſe buſineſs lyes abroad in the freſh open Air, might be a means from God of the preſervation; and that which *Pharaoh* intended for their ruine, in all probability was a means to ſecure them from Epidemical Peſtilential Diſeaſes. For it is a great truth, that the Plague it ſelf is no Plague to clean and pure Conſtitutions, and ſeiſes thoſe only whoſe Bodies, by feeding plentifully and living at ſome eaſe, contract vicious humours, which the infectious Air ſets into a high fermentation, which it could not do if thoſe humours were not there, they being the only Fuel of that fatal combuſtion: and certainly all the Colledg of Phyſicians, though *Galen* and *Hippocrates* and *Æſculapius* himſelf were joined with them, could not preſcribe a more Sovereign remedy againſt the encreaſe of humors than *Pharaoh* did to theſe poor Drudges, *viz.* the Leeks and the Onions, the Garlick and Cucumbers of *Egypt*; and if they would mend their Commons with Bread, they muſt get it, not with the ſweat of their Brows only, but of every joint and limb: ſo that they were as clean as

Horſes

Horſes for a Race, and might bid defiance to all infection. But when once they remove out of *Egypt*, and from making Bricks without Straw, and had little to do but only to ſtalk eaſie marches in the Wilderneſs, and ſometimes to lye at Anchor, and to ſurfeit upon Quails and Manna, till it run out at their Noſtrils, *Numb.* 11. 20. Then while the luſcious Fleſh was between their teeth, *Numb.* 11. 33. they are ſmitten with a very great Plague: and at the 14th Chapter, thoſe who went to ſearch the Land of *Canaan*, dye of a ſecond Plague; and at the 17th Chapter, there fourteen thouſand and ſeven hundred dye of a third Plague; and Chap. 25. there twenty four thouſand dye of a fourth Plague; they being now both naturally fitted by their luxury, and morally qualified by their ſins, for this Judgment. But we hear not a ſyllable of any one Plague amongſt this great people during their bondage in *Egypt*, who were therefore great and numerous, becauſe guarded from this and the like Judgments. For ſhould God have expoſed them to thoſe devouring Judgments of Famine, War and Peſtilence, that had been but the way to have unravell'd

raveled the means of performing his own promiſe, like one who travels in a Circle, and having trac'd the whole Circumference, arrives at length (and not advances) but to the ſame Point from whence he firſt ſet forth.

I can never think that the Egyptians (whoſe wiſdom is celebrated even in Divine Writ, *Acts* 7. 22. as an Ornament and excellent Qualification in *Moſes* himſelf, whom God choſe out of all the Tribes to be his own Lieutenant or Deputy in governing the Iſraelites) were ſuch ill Politicians, or that they whom the annual Overflow of their great River taught to be the great Maſters of Practical Geometry even to *Greece* it ſelf (which it is impoſſible to perform without good skill in Arithmetick) ſhould be ſuch ill Arithmeticians, as not to be able to do that which I do now, *viz.* ſit down and compute the number that would ariſe from ſeventy men by their Wives and Concubines, though every man had been as fruitful as *Gideon*, who had threeſcore and ten Sons; and then judge whether theſe Strangers might not in time become dangerous to the State, and with a leſs auſpicious inundation than that of *Nile*, overflow

the whole Country, and like the Frogs enter even into their Kings Chambers. Now the reason why this sagacious people did not foresee this vast encrease of the Israelites must proceed from hence, That they saw no such prodigious fertility in them to make them encrease faster than themselves, and they being many thousands for one Israelite, Nature (they thought) would still hold the proportion the same. They could not but foresee by former experience, mortalities and plagues, those Correctives of the excess of humane generations, whereby God seems to say to the overflowing Ocean of Mankind, *Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther.* But then they look'd upon this Judgment in the same Notion that *David* does, *Psal.* 91. 5. *As an Arrow that flyeth by day*: And for that reason they thought they saw it with their eyes falling promiscuously on the Israelites, as well as on themselves, not dreaming of that Pestilence, *Psal.* 91. 6. *which walketh also in darkness*, and beside the track of all humane conjectures, raging in the Cities of *Egypt* according to its usual Periods in that hot Country, but making a skip or pass-over at *Israel*, and forbearing to curtail his promised

promiſed numbers in their Geometrical Progreſſion towards infinity, which I now come to ſtate more particularly.

And what wonder is it if every man under theſe circumſtances which I have diſcourſed of, ſhould have five or ſix Sons apiece, and as many Daughters, reckoning one with another; for though ſome might not have ſo many, ſo others might have a far more numerous Iſſue: Many a poor Cottage here in our leſs pregnant Climate can furniſh out a larger Stock, honeſtly begotten, by one Wife only. Certainly, no man that conſiders what has been ſaid, can think this an unreaſonable ſuppoſition, eſpecially if he conſider alſo what *David* ſays, *Pſal.* 127. 4. *Lo Children and the fruit of the womb are an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord*, and alſo how eminently this truth appeared in the Wives of their famous Progenitors, *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, who were all ſucceſſively barren till God made them otherwiſe; and it is very probable, that as there was not one feeble Perſon, *Pſal.* 105. 36. ſo there was not one barren perſon among their Tribes. But becauſe that by accidents and natural infirmities ſome of theſe

may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to dye before they come to maturity, or at leaſt, before they have the like number of Children; I will therefore ſuppoſe no greater number than four Sons live to contribute their Parts to the next Generation, by getting five or ſix Sons likewiſe, whereof four live to do the like, and ſo on till two hundred and ten years be expired.

In the next place I will ſuppoſe that every one of theſe four may be Father of his firſt-born at twenty four years of Age compleat; for the life of man being now contracted, as I have before ſhewn, to ſeventy years, it is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they made more haſte than their long-liv'd Anceſtors to ſecure an early ſhare in the promiſe; and if they might be Soulders at twenty years of Age, *Numb.* 1. 45. certainly it is no unproportionable ſuppoſition to think they might be Fathers of their Firſt-born at twenty four. This will appear more probable yet, if we conſider the more early pregnancy of that Climate, being almoſt under the Tropick; whereas it is a common thing in our colder Situation of 52 Degrees latitude to anticipate that Age: Add to this what

what the learned *Selden* tells us, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 3. *De jure Naturali Gentium apud Hebræos: Neceſſitatem Matrimonii Præcepto fructificandi ſeu propagationis multiplicationiſque, eo uſque ſanciri docent Rabbini, ut ita eo teneri Maſculos omnes, ut quicunque expleto vigeſimo ætatis anno (& ſunt qui de minori ætate heic pronuntiant) Uxorem non duxerit, eum in illud committere ſcribant: niſi aut aſſiduo Legis ſtudio incumbat, aut, &c.*

But becauſe of this early commencing Fathers, it is probable (as I have before obſerved) that they continued Proletarians the leſs time, I will therefore ſuppoſe that theſe four Sons are all born in twenty four years more, that is, by ſuch time as their Father is forty eight years of Age compleat, and upon theſe three ſuppoſitions I frame the Calculation annexed.

The uſual way of reckoning Generations, and calculating their numbers, is by Geometrical Progreſſion, and in this preſent Caſe according to the ſuppoſitions premis'd, the proportions of every Generation would run thus: 1, 4, 16, 64, 256, 1024, *&c.* But I find that at laſt in the Concluſion this way does not give a diſtinct view of the Grand-

Sons, whereof a very conſiderable number are born within that Period which is allowed to the immediate Sons only, and by that means the account is intermixed and confuſed at laſt, and therefore I have thought of another way. And although the eldeſt Son may have his firſt Child before the Father has his laſt; yet for clearneſs ſake, and to avoid confuſion, I ſuppoſe the Father to have all his four Sons before his eldeſt Son has ever a Child; not that it was always really ſo, but to keep the account of each Generation diſtinct by it ſelf, from interfering with that which ſucceeded, which would have been more intricate if I had ſuppoſed the Father and Son to have had Children born the ſame years both together; I therefore ſuppoſe in the Table annexed, that every man has one of his four Sons every ſix years: ſo that his youngeſt Son is born ſix years before his eldeſt Son has a Child. This Table has but two Columns or Ranges of Figures, the firſt contains every ſixth Year from *Jacob*'s coming into *Egypt*, in every of which and no other (for diſtinctneſs ſake) I ſuppoſe the Children to be born, the number of whom is placed in the other Column over againſt each

each Year. But this Column contains the number of Children which will arise from one man only, as suppose from *Adam*, in two hundred and ten years on the suppositions laid down; if multiplyed by three, it will give the numbers arising from the three Sons of *Noah*; if multiplyed by seventy, it will give the numbers of the Children of Israel, which are as follows:

Of Males up to 80 years of Age	1437310
Of Females the same	1437310
Besides Concubines	400000
Summ Total	3274620

This account agrees exactly with that of *Moses* at their first Muster in the Wilderness, *Numb.* 1.46. where all of twenty years old and upwards, fit for War, are computed at six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty, and in the next Verse it is said, that the Levites were not numbred among the rest, but by themselves, *Numb.* 2. 39. where the Males from a Month old and upwards amount but to two and twenty thousand: Now if you allow eight thousand one hundred and eighty of these to be twenty years of Age and upwards to sixty eight, and then add

that number to the number of the other Tribes fit for War, which is six hundred and three thousand, five hundren and fifty, then the total Summ will be the same with that which arises by my Computation, *viz.* six hundred and eleven thousand, seven hundred and thirty, where none are taken in that were born before the hundred and forty fourth year from their coming into *Egypt*; so that none are above sixty eight years of Age of these six hundred and eleven thousand, seven hundred and thirty, at their going thence, and none under twenty: which being so near the mark, I think the Total number of Males and Females cannot be very wide from the truth.

As for that ascititious Tribe, the Concubines, I have put them down at a venture at four hundred thousand, which is not so much as two thirds of the Males from twenty years old and upwards to sixty eight, by eleven thousand seven hundred and thirty. For though I have formerly hinted, that one Concubine to each man was the most probable number; yet perhaps they might be without Concubines for some years after they were married, till such

ſuch time as their appetites beginning to be cloy'd with one and the ſame Diſh, their ſtomachs began to hanker after ſecond Courſe.

As to the way of computing the Table annexed, I need not ſay as St *John* does, *Here is wiſdom, let him that hath underſtanding count the number*; for he that has but ſo much underſtanding in Arithmetick as to perform Addition only, may do this, and therefore, Sir, I will trouble You no farther about that. You will find that I have not confined my ſelf preciſely to two hundred and ten years, but to two hundred and twelve; which yet is leſs than either Sr *Walter Raleigh*, *Helvicus* or *Petavius* do allow for the Iſraelites ſtay in *Egypt*; and yet I have not ſuppoſed any Children to be born after the two hundred and tenth year, but only that they ſtayed two years more, to this end, that I might begin my Computation of thoſe that were twenty years old, and upwards, fit for War, with thoſe that were born in the Year 192. But having ſuch good authority as thoſe three learned Chronologers, I think I need make no farther Apology, *Petavius* allowing no leſs than two hundred and

and fifteen years for their abode there.

But I muſt not forget my promiſe that I made, to demonſtrate that if the Iſraelites had continued in *Egypt* multiplying at the ſame proportion that they did whilſt they were there, they would in eighteen or twenty years time have encreaſed to a greater number than they did in four hundred and ſeventy three years afterwards. For ſo many years it was, according to *Helvicus*, from the time of their deliverance out of *Egypt* to the time that *David* cauſed *Joab* to number the people, whereof I find two Liſts returned, 2 *Sam.* 24. and 1 *Chron.* 21. This laſt is the larger Liſt, and therefore I will pitch upon that, it amounts to eleven hundred thouſand. But *Levi* and *Benjamin* were not counted among them, 1 *Chron.* 21. 6. For the King's word was abominable to *Joab.* But if ten Tribes give eleven hundred thouſand, what ſhall two Tribes give at the ſame proporrion? And the Anſwer is, Two hundred and twenty thouſand; which added together make, One million, three hundred and twenty thouſand men that drew the Sword, that is, that were twenty years old and upwards, to about ſeventy. Now if

we

we ſuppoſe that the Iſraelites ſtaid twenty years more, that is, to two hundred and thirty years, then they who were born in the two hundred and tenth year will be full twenty years old, and therefore if we begin there, and add all the numbers together up to the year one hundred and ſixty two incluſively, they make nineteen thouſand and fifty two; which being multiplyed by ſeventy, make one million, three hundred thirty three thouſand, ſix hundred and forty, which is, thirteen thouſand ſix hundred and forty more than they were at the latter end of *David*'s Reign; *Quod erat demonſtrandum.*

And now, Sir, do You judge whether God Almighty was not as good as his word to *Jacob*, Gen. 46. 3. *Fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will there make of thee a great Nation*; and whether this might not be done without multiplying of miracles for their production, only by covering them under the ſhadow of his wings till their calamities were paſt. For my part, I think they do equal diſſervice to the Chriſtian Religion, who needleſly ſwell and aggrandize paſſages of Scripture into Myſteries and Miracles, ſuch as this I have been

been ſpeaking of, and that of St *John* 6. 53, 54, 55. by the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; and thoſe who will ſolve all the *Phænonema* of God's Providence and Proceedings, and the greateſt Myſteries of Faith, ſuch as the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, by bringing them down to the Level and Comprehenſion of our frail underſtandings, as the Pelagians and Socinians. For they who maintain, that this vaſt encreaſe of the Iſraelites could be effected no otherwiſe than by conſtant Twins, they do by that means make it look like an abſurd Romantick Tale, as if it were impoſſible to be effected, unleſs every Iſraelitiſh Woman were like a Dorſetſhire Ewe, which ſeldom brings forth leſs than two Lambs at a time; whereof their own Hiſtory does not ſo much as pretend to make mention. But I hope I have in ſome meaſure evinced the probability of the thing upon rational grounds, at leaſt in ſuch a meaſure as could well be expected from a Batchelour, who was never vers'd in this work of generation: And perhaps it was for that very reaſon that You were pleas'd to ſingle me out to diſcuſs this Queſtion,

from

from among the reſt of your more learned Acquaintance that were married, as having a charitable regard to that Cheſſ-board-Proverb, (which You know We have ſometimes occaſion to make uſe of) *That a Stander-by ſees more than the Gameſters.*

But I muſt not part with You ſo, without a more ſerious farewel and reflection on this occaſion, and expreſſing my hearty thanks for putting me on this uſeful and pleaſant undertaking; for by that means You have miniſtred to me an occaſion of ſearching more narrowly into the *ſeries* of God's Providence over the Children of *Iſrael*, bringing the greateſt events to paſs by deſpicable, nay contrary means in all humane appearance at the time when they were tranſacted: *Joſeph*'s Brethren by ſelling him to the Iſhmaelites thought verily to have defeated the accompliſhment of his aſpiring Dreams, and by that very means ſend him (notwithſtanding he paſs'd through a Priſon too) to be no leſs than the Vice-Roy of *Egypt*, and in that capacity their Sheaves come above twenty years after to do obeyſance to his Sheaf, and the Sun, Moon and Stars to fall down before him, *Gen.* 37.

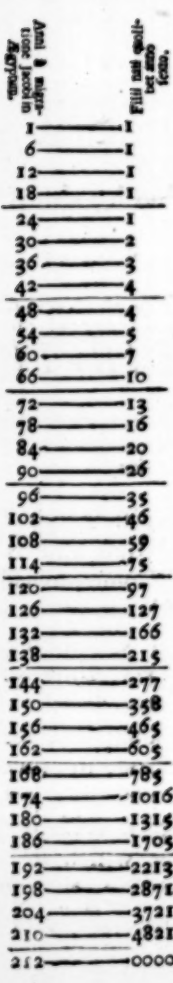
37. and he becomes their great Patron and Protector, and in the place of God to them and their Posterity, *Gen.* 50. 19. I have before observed how God defeated at every turn the secret Plots and Machinations that were designed for the ruine of his Church and People; and have not We seen fresh instances of the same nature even among our selves at this day, as well as in every Age since the time of the Reformation, wherein God Almighty has hitherto delivered us from the hands of our Roman Taskmasters, and I trust he will yet deliver us? For the reviving and cherishing of which hopes and trust in the good Providence of God, I must owne my self more beholden at this time to your obliging injunction, than You can be to me for my slender performance; which yet if it contribute, though but remotely, to the clearing of any weighty truth which You shall undertake, it will be an additional satisfaction, as it was the only design and intent of,

SIR,

Your most obliged
humble Servant,

JAMES RUDYERD.

Winchfield, November the 10th 1681.



Anni 8 migratione facta in Ægyptum.	Filii nati quolibet anno sexto.
1	1
6	1
12	1
18	1
24	1
30	2
36	3
42	4
48	4
54	5
60	7
66	10
72	13
78	16
84	20
90	26
96	35
102	46
108	59
114	75
120	97
126	127
132	166
138	215
144	277
150	358
156	465
162	605
168	785
174	1016
180	1315
186	1705
192	2213
198	2871
204	3721
210	4821
212	0000

A SECOND QUESTION

Propounded by the Author, *viz.*

CONCERNING

The *multiplying of Mankind until the Floud.*

Honoured Sir,

ALthough in contemplation of your great pains and bounty to my ſelf and the Commonwealth of Learning, I ſhould not (in civility) come in with another Queſtion, *tanquam ex poſtliminio*; yet, *Extremum hunc, Arethuſa, mihi concede laborem*! It is ſaid, That *Cain*, being caſt forth from the preſence of God, in proceſs of time begat *Enoch*, and built a City after his name (being, it is likely then, at mans eſtate.) After which it is ſet forth, in order of Writing, though not of time, that *Adam* begat *Seth*, in the hundred and

and thirtieth year of his Age, who had *Enos* by name; in whose time men began to call upon the name of the Lord, or to be divided (as I take it) in Religions: I would fain know how far the World might be peopled by that time *Enos* was fit to go forth from his Fathers Tents, and to have a Tribe, Hoard, or Family of his own; so that still the chief Family might retain to *Adam*, and the next numerous to *Cain*, and more people yet, to make up the house of *Seth*, or any of his Descendents. And if this appear for three hundred years in all, both the true Church and the false may be discovered, and what numbers of people may be conjectured to have been destroyed by the Floud. Which is the humble request of,

SIR,

Your most obliged Servant,

THO. TANNER.

December the 10th 1681.

Mr RUDYERD's ANSWER TO THE Second Question.

SIR,

YOUR kind acceptance and favourable interpretation of my former Eſſay, obliges me to do no leſs than to attempt the anſwering Your other Queries, *ex poſtliminio*, as You call them. And in order to that, I have calculated the numbers that might ariſe from *Adam* and *Eve*, and their Poſterity, upon theſe following ſuppoſitions:

1. That they had a Son every fourth Year, and a Child every ſecond Year; ſo that there is one Year for breeding, and another for nurſing: For 'tis not to be imagined, that *Eve* bred up her Children by hand, or that, when Mankind began to multiply, they ſhould be guilty

ty of that unnatural curiosity and gentile niceness which prevails so much now adays, of nourishing their Infants at a strange Dugg. But that there might be such frequent births as this amounts to, is not improbable; considering that Mankind was at that time more especially under the Divine Benediction of encreasing and multiplying, in order to repleniſh the Earth, which was nothing else but a Wilderness, and altogether as useless (except for wild Beasts) as the *Chaos* it self, till such time as it was furnished with Inhabitants.

2. That these Children, being born of Parents of a far more durable althletick Constitution than men are now, and being form'd out of the more pure principles of Nature, as She came untainted out of the hands of her Creator, were not such Rickety Pulings as they are now in the decrepit Age of the World: there were no *mala ſtamina vitæ* derived from diseased, feeble, intemperate Parents; but *fortes creantur à fortibus.* I therefore suppose that they very rarely made such untimely *Exits* as frequently happen among us, but that every one of these attained to perfect Age; or at least, that at such a time as God Al-

mighty's own Colony, the Earth, wanted Planters, He might bleſs them extraordinarily with ſuch a number of Twins as might make ample reparation for thoſe who were cut off young by accidents and infirmities; ſo that they might increaſe as faſt as that proportion which I have ſtated, though not according to it: And yet I am not of the general opinion of the Rabbins, that upon this great occaſion of peopling the World, there were few ſingle births, but all were Twins; and Mr *Selden* out of them, and the Oriental Traditions, gives us the name of *Cain*'s Siſter Twin, and of *Abel*'s two Siſter Twins: But perhaps this may be but a Rabbinical fancy.

3. That *Cain* and all that were born after him, had their firſt-born at ſixty five years of Age, as is recorded of *Mahalael* and *Enoch*: For although none are ſaid to begin ſo early beſides in that whole Genealogy, *Gen.* 5. down from *Adam* to *Noah*; yet we are not to think the eldeſt Son is always named. And S^t. *Auguſtin* is clearly of this opinion, *lib.* 15. *cap.* 15. *De Civitate Dei*, *Video eſſe credibile*, *inquit*, *non hic primogenitos filios eſſe commemoratos*, *ſed quos ſucceſſionis ordo poſcebat*, with much more to the

the ſame purpoſe a little after. For *Moſes*'s great aim is to draw down the direct Line only of *Abraham* the Father of the Jewiſh Nation. The like appears plainly in the Genealogy of our Saviour in St *Matthew*, where *Abraham* is ſaid to beget *Iſaac*; *Iſaac*, *Jacob*; *Jacob*, *Judah*; *Judah*, *Pharez*; *Jeſſe*, *David*; *David*, *Solomon*; whereof not one was the eldeſt Son of his Father. Nay, *Methodius* out of Oriental Traditions ſays, That *Cain*'s eldeſt Son was born, when his Father was but thirty years old: And Mr *Selden* quotes *Cedrenus* affirming, that *Adam* had thirty three Sons and twenty ſeven Daughters, and yet none of theſe are mentioned by *Moſes*, ſave only *Cain*, *Abel* and *Seth*, and not ſo much as one Daughter, without which the Race of Mankind muſt have come to a full ſtop immediately. And if *Adam* and his Poſterity to the Flood had no more Children than whoſe names are recorded by *Moſes*, there had been little need of opening the Windows of Heaven, and pouring out an Ocean to drown them; for as to the quantity of water, they might all have been drown'd in a Traſh-pool: And ſeeing there were many more than what are mentioned,

what neceſſity is there to ſuppoſe that thoſe which are mentioned were always the eldeſt? *Credat Judæus*----

4. I ſuppoſe that *Adam* might continue getting Children till ſix hundred years of Age, ſeeing *Noah* had *Sem*, *Ham* and *Japhet* after five hundred, *Gen.* 5.32. But I ſhall have no occaſion to carry on my Calculation ſo far in order to anſwer your Queries, which require no more than to the Birth of *Cainan*, when his Father *Enos* was ninety years old, which is juſt three hundred twenty five from the Creation. As for the numbers that might be deſtroyed by the Floud, they cannot be conjectured from any Calculation which falls ſhort of that time (as You imagine) for the Calculation keeps no certain proportion that I can find: only You may gueſs the World to have been throughly ſtock'd with Inhabitants, and perhaps more than at this day. For *Petavius* in his 9th Book *de Doctrina Temporum*, *c.* 14. and *Temporarius* in his Chronology before him, gives an evident demonſtration (as my Author ſays) that within the compaſs of two hundred and fifteen years after the Floud, the number of coexiſting Individuals would amount to a vaſt multitude,

multitude, and I believe more than is in the World at this day, *viz.* above twelve hundred millions. Which is a ſwifter way of encreaſing than ariſes by my computation; for in 325 years there ariſe but 116779 Males, and adding the like number of Females there will be in all but 233558; which yet I think is abundantly ſufficient to anſwer your Queries about *Seth* and *Enos*, though there were but half this number, or, which is all one, if I had ſuppoſed them to have had a Son but every eighth year.

The only ſeeming difficulty is, to find out Inhabitants for *Cain*'s City; for by my Computation I can make but a hundred eighty ſeven Males in the World at the birth of *Seth*; and *Cain*, according to my former ſuppoſitions, could have but ſixteen Males of his own Poſterity, and certainly none elſe would accompany the wretched Murderer, and thereby baniſh themſelves from the face of the Earth, and of God himſelf, *Gen.* 4. 14, 16. Now ſeventeen Males would conſtitute but a large Family, nor is it to be ſuppoſed that ſo ſmall a number, whereof a good part were but Children too, could give a Place the denominati-

on of a City, or of a Town, though we ſhould ſuppoſe it ſuch an one as *Cæſar* deſcribes our Britiſh Towns at his firſt footing here, *Commentariorum lib.* 5. *Oppidum Britanni vocant, quum Sylvam impeditam vallo atque foſſa munierant, quo incurſionis hoſtium vitandæ causâ convenire conjueverunt.* But to ſolve this doubt I anſwer, That what is here ſaid, *Gen.* 4. 17. That *Cain*'s Wife bare *Enoch*, and that He builded a City, and called it after the name of his Son *Enoch*, is ſpoken by way of anticipation; as if *Moſes* ſhould have ſaid, This is that *Enoch* whoſe name *Cain* gave to the City which he afterwards built in proceſs of time, when his Poſterity began to encreaſe. And although this be the firſt City mentioned, yet 'tis very probable that *Adam* built the firſt City, being ſo much longer in the World at Man's Eſtate, wherein he was created, as to be *Cain*'s Father; And what need *Cain* have given any name to his City, if there were no other City in the World beſide? For names are for diſtinction, and are uſeleſs where there is but one of a kind. In *Gen.* 9. it is ſaid of *Sem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*, *Theſe are the three Sons of Noah, and of them was the whole earth overſpread*; and

and the next Verſe ſays, *Noah began to be an Husbandman, and planted a Vineyard:* But no rational man can conclude from hence that the whole Earth was peopled before *Noah began to be an Husbandman, and planted a Vineyard.* So I ſay, Although *Cain*'s City be mentioned before the birth of *Irad* and *Mehujael*, *Gen.* 4. yet it does not at all follow that therefore it muſt be built before they were born, becauſe we ſee many things in this Hiſtory hinted at in order of Writing firſt, which fell out laſt in order of time; as in that inſtance I mentioned of *Noah*'s Sons, and you your ſelf inſtance in your Letter, in this Hiſtory of *Cain* and his Poſterity, which *Moſes* ſeems to clap in a Parentheſis: And ſuppoſing *Enoch* the Son of *Cain* to be Contemporary with *Seth*, though it be probable he was ſomething later, the Parallel will run thus:

Seth		*Enoch*
Enos		*Irad*
Cainan		*Mehujael*
Mahalael		*Methuſael*
Jared	Contemporary with	*Lamech*
Enoch		*Tubal Cain*
Methuſelah		
Lamech		
Noah		

And

And yet the History of *Tubal Cain* is dispatched before *Seth* is spoken of, though he were Contemporary with *Enoch*, who is five Generations remov'd from *Seth*: So that there is no reason to conclude that *Cain*'s City was built before *Irad* was born, only because it precedes in the History. And perhaps it was not built in a hundred years after, nor received the name of *Enoch* many years after that, till such time as there were more Cities in the World, and *Cain* himself grew old, and weary of the splendid toil of Governing, and so admitted his eldest Son to a Partnership in his Superintendency; thereby to ease himself of part of his care, and secure the Succession in the right Line; for which *Cain* seems to have been very zealous: For by calling his City *Enoch*, no man could mention it, but at the same time he must declare, by the very name of it, to whom it did belong. In this, *Cain* seems to me to have play'd the *Machiavel*; and no wonder, since our Saviour himself tells us, that *the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light*. But certainly it was no policy for *Cain* to secure the Dominion of this City to his Son, by calling it after his Son's,

Son's, and not after his own name, till ſuch time as he himſelf grew old, and willing to reſign up his cares as well as his Glory: For had he done it whilſt he was young and likely to live, unleſs *Enoch* was an honeſter man than his Father, it would have been a greater temptation to him to have murthered his Father, than ever *Cain* had to murder his Brother. *Artaxerxes* ſeems to have gone this way to work; for he ſetled his Son *Darius* in the Throne during his own life, and a common thing it was among the Perſian Emperors: Nay, *David* himſelf did ſo by *Solomon*, to prevent his elder Son *Adonijah* from coming to the Throne, and many of the Roman Emperours aſſum'd thoſe whom they intended for their Succeſſors, in *Conſortium Imperii*: And perhaps this part of King-craft might derive its Original from *Cain*. But if any are ſo wedded to their own opinions, as to think that this City muſt needs be built before *Irad* was born, becauſe 'tis related firſt, I ſhall not be averſe to that fond conceit, provided they allow this definition of their City, that it was *Spelunca Latronum*.

And whereas it is urged by the Præ-Adamites, that the World was peopled very

very well before *Cain* ſlew his Brother, becauſe *Cain* ſays Every one that meeteth him will ſlay him: All that I can gather from hence, is, That *Cain* ſpake more reaſon than the Præ-Adamites: For what reaſon is there, now that the World is peopled, for a Murtherer to conclude that every one that meeteth him will ſlay him? Does not many a Murtherer eſcape by flying amongſt men, and hiding himſelf in the Crowd? So that there is no need of putting a mark upon ſuch an one for fear he ſhould be kill'd, *Gen.* 4. there is more need of a mark now that he may be known, and brought to Juſtice. Nay, the Præ-Adamites are ſo far from eſtabliſhing or ſtrengthning their opinion from this Text, that *Cain* ſpake greater reaſon, by how much the World was the leſſer; for that was an high aggravation of the murder, and made it look more black and notorious than it would do now that the World is well ſtock'd with Inhabitants, as it would have been a greater crime to have rob'd the good Samaritan of his Two-pence, than to have ſtollen the ſame Summ out of *Cræſus*'s Treaſury. And by reaſon of this ſcantineſs of the Race of Mankind,

kind, the matter became the more known, even to all the World, who would be ſure to tell their Children of this inhumane act, which made him the diſcourſe of all, ---*cunctorum volitare per ora*, and they would be ſure to deſcribe the villany from head to foot; and the Race of Mankind continually encreaſing and ſpreading farther from its Center, Nature ſeem'd to ſend the Hue and Cry after him, and *Cain* might well conclude, that that and vengeance would overtake him both together, and that every one that meeteth him would ſlay him. But leſt I ſhould ſeem guilty of ſomething of the like nature, by murdering Your patience with a tedious long-winded Epiſtle, I here take occaſion to tell You, That I have done; or, which is all one, to ſubſcribe my ſelf,

SIR,

Your faithful Servant,

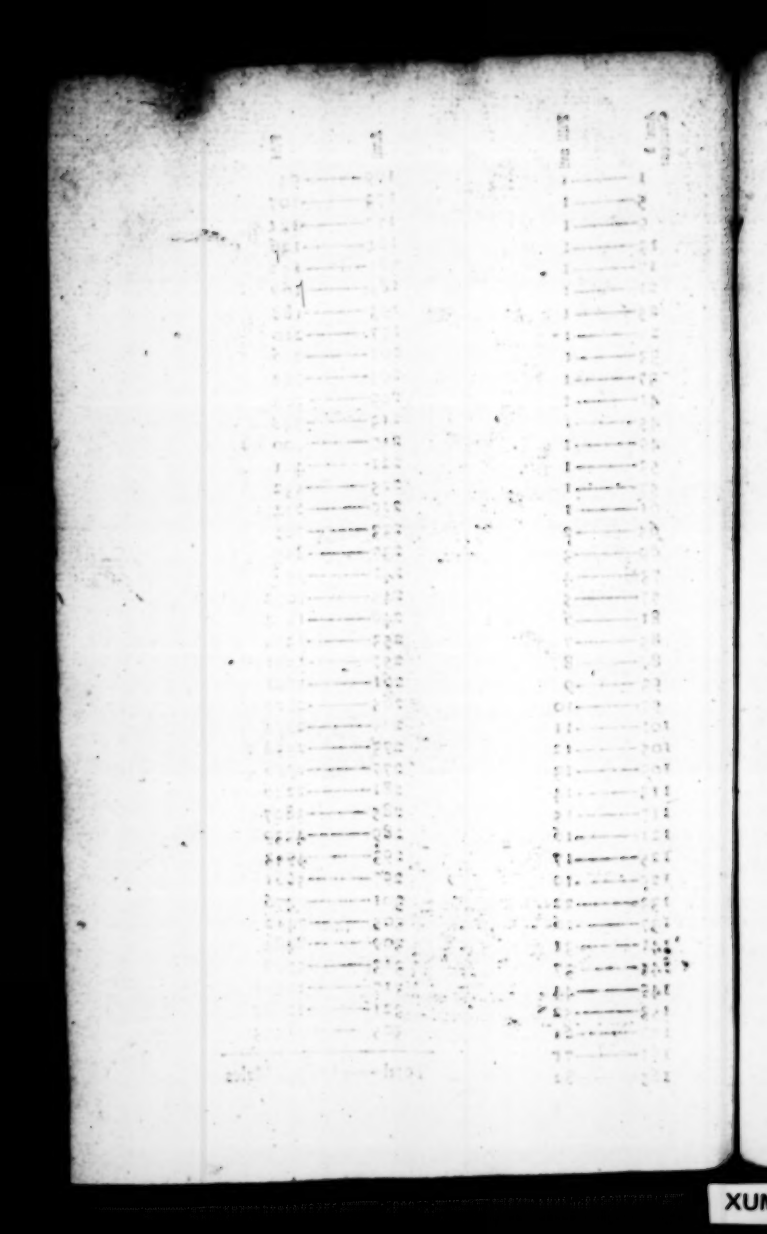
December the 12th 1681.

J. RUDYERD.

Anni à Creatione	Filii nati
1	1
5	1
9	1
13	1
17	1
21	1
25	1
29	1
33	1
37	1
41	1
45	1
49	1
53	1
57	1
61	1
65	2
69	3
73	4
77	5
81	6
85	7
89	8
93	9
97	10
101	11
105	12
109	13
113	14
117	15
121	16
125	17
129	19
133	22
137	26
141	31
145	37
149	44
153	52
157	61
161	71
165	82

Anni	Filii
169	94
173	107
177	121
181	136
185	152
189	169
193	188
197	210
201	236
205	267
209	304
213	348
217	400
221	461
225	532
229	614
233	708
237	815
241	936
245	1072
249	1224
253	1393
257	1581
261	1791
265	2027
269	2294
273	2598
277	2946
281	3346
285	3807
289	4339
293	4953
297	5661
301	6476
305	7412
309	8484
313	9708
317	11101
321	12682
325	14473

Total——116779 Males



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